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15 September 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2199



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15 September 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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POLISH MOSCOW EMBASSY STAFF, SOVIETS REACT TO EVENTS IN POLAND

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 33, 13 Aug 83 pp 1, 11

[Article by Zygmunt Kaluzynski: "'Kino Rynok'--Or the Film Market; Letter From Moscow"; feature article reporting author's impressions of the Moscow International Film Festival]

[Excerpt] So, I learned a lot of surprising things, but, relatively speaking, I learned the least about the film industry and even less about Poland, a fact which I found most intriguing. I put a lot of questions to my fellow countrymen living here, mainly at a reception held at the Polish Embassy, from which I emerged with a full stomach--something which seldom happens to me in Warsaw. I mention this because I was here 2 years ago also, and at that time the Polish Embassy reception (for festival guests like the one held this year) was undoubtedly the most ascetic such affair in the history of diplomacy. On that occasion the embassy first secretary put on an ostentatious display of serving nothing but mineral water and dry crackers. When asked about this, he was only too glad to explain that, in view of the food supply situation at home at that time, he thought it would be quite inappropriate to make a big show out of putting on a sumptuous feast. Anyway, things are different now. But, I ask, how do the Soviets feel about Poles these days? Poles living here tend to look at me with pity in their eyes when I ask this question. They must be thinking: Here is another egocentric Varsovian who thinks he is the center of world attention. Their reply is along the lines of: We're living in a superpower country, a country which has thousands of different interests and a big-league foreign policy, a country which is pursuing its policy interests in Angola and Ethiopia, involved in the Middle East, and arguing with the Far East. This is a country which also has problems of its own. The average Soviet citizen is not all that interested in Poland. I say something about the dramatic problems we are having at home, and I get a jaunty reply along the lines of: "Oh well, we'll muddle through come what may."

Of course, things went better when I encountered people who are interested in Poland or specialize in Polish affairs. There are many such people here, and they would come up and talk to us as soon as we showed up at the festival. These people take a cautious, wait-and-see approach and they are reluctant to express any firm opinions. The spirit of goodwill is still there as far as I could tell, but this may have something to do with the

fact that these people happen to be old associates, mainly journalists who cover the Polish cultural scene and for whom we are old and familiar faces. However, one acquaintance of mine from the consulate, who has been here for a couple of years, was a little bit depressed and noted that: "We have lost a great deal of the sympathy which we used to enjoy and which at one time was spontaneous. Poles used to be thought of here as the 'closest' allies of the Soviet Union, but I doubt that we will regain this reputation any time soon. The press here has been publishing reports about the desecration of Soviet grave sites in Poland, and that sort of news is very poorly received here."

CSO: 2600/1225

## DELEGATE HITS U.S., USSR AT PALESTINIAN MEETING

AU031329 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 3 Sep 83

[Text] Tirana, 3 Sep (ATA)--As has been reported, the International Conference on the Question of Palestine is holding its proceedings in Geneva these days. Maxhun Peka, the representative of our country, took the floor at the conference. He said among others:

The long-suffering martyred Palestinian people are without homeland, landless and homeless, living and fighting in extremely difficult conditions for more than three decades and a half. The Israeli war machine, after which is the hand of U.S. imperialism, has continuously committed against them barbarous massacres which have taken the form of open genocide. In the occupied territories such as in the Western Bank and in Gaza, Golan Heights, the Palestinian population and the Arab one are under a fierce terror similar to the Nazi one.

The cruel crimes of the Zionists against the Palestinian people and in general, all the adventurous policy pursued by Israel in the Middle East, have been given free hand, first of all, due to the direct military, economic and political aid and support of U.S. imperialism, which, in the context of its hegemonic aims has turned that zone into a permanent outpost for further expansion. The U.S. imperialists and their stooge Israel, think that after the events in Lebanon, conditions have been created to deal a destructive blow to the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. To these aims serves also the notorious agreement on Lebanon, which, just like the Camp David accords, is another link in the chain of the Zionist-imperialist plots to the detriment of the just cause of the Arab peoples and the Palestinian people in particular. Tel Aviv and Washington needed it to hit the Palestinian people and legalize the Israeli occupation in Lebanon and to increase the American military presence which threatens the freedom of the peoples of that region and steps up the danger of war.

The stand of the Soviet social-imperialists too in regard to the Palestinian question, in essence, does not differ from that of the U.S. imperialists. They have their strategic aims and interests in the Middle East, hence, they are making all efforts to consolidate their positions there. Despite the great demagogical fuss they make, posing as "anti-imperialists" and "allies" of the

Palestinian people and other Arab peoples, in fact, the Soviet social-imperialists hatch up plots detrimental to these peoples. To this testified also their stand during the fascist aggression against Lebanon. They strive to turn it into a question of bargains of their secret diplomacy with Washington.

Further on he pointed out that the imperialist superpowers, the Israeli Zionists and the reaction have intensified recently their intrigues and plots against the Palestinian people. They aim particularly at hitting the Palestinian movement, at creating quarrels and splits, smashing the unity of the Arab peoples, methods which are a powerful weapon in their struggle. The recent events show that the dangers threatening the Palestinian people are great. But they have never accepted the situations that the Zionists and the imperialist enemies have tried to create and preserve in the Middle East. On the contrary, they have continued their struggle in spite of the difficulties and obstacles. In this struggle, the Palestinian people have never been alone, they have enjoyed the support of their Arab brothers, of all the freedom-loving and peaceful peoples of the world.

In conclusion, the Albanian representative stressed that the Albanian people have strongly condemned the monstrous crimes and the genocide exercised by the Israeli Zionists, the plots and intrigues hatched up by the superpowers against the Arab peoples. They have always supported unreservedly the struggle waged by the Palestinian people to gain their national rights, to return to their homes occupied by Israel, to live free and independent in their homeland.

The leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: "A sincere and ancient friendship links the Albanian people with the fraternal Arab peoples. We have supported and will continue to support to the end and energetically the just struggle of the Arab peoples for the liberation of the Arab territories occupied by the Israeli Zionist aggressors and the reestablishment of all the legitimate rights of the martyred Palestinian people. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in the Albanian people, the heroic Palestinian people and their lawful representative, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, have had and will always have sincere friends and resolute defenders of their just national cause."

CSO: 2020/68

## BRIEFS

WOMEN'S DELEGATION VISITS SRV--At the invitation of the Vietnamese Women's Union, a delegation of the Albanian Women's Union, headed by Lumturi Rexha, president of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union, left today for a friendly visit to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The delegation was seen off at the airport by Eleni Selenica, vice president of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union. Also present was Hoang Quoc Tinh, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Text] [AU011325 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Aug 83]

PRESS DAY CELEBRATION--On the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the publication of the first issue of ZERI I POPULLIT, the Day of the People's Press, the editorial board of ZERI I POPULLIT and the presidency of the Union of Journalists of Albania organized a solemn meeting this afternoon in Tirana. In addition to journalists, correspondents, and other invitees, the meeting was also attended by Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee; Arshin Xhezo, chief editor of ZERI I POPULLIT, and others. The meeting was opened by Dhimiter Toma, chief of the press section attached to the AWP Central Committee. Marash Ajati, president of the Union of Journalists of Albania and general director of radio-television, spoke about the road traversed by the people's press during the past 41 years. Attendees of the meeting sent a telegram to Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee. [Summary] [AU260815 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 83]

CSO: 2100/68



MILITIA CHIEF CALLS FOR HIGHER EFFICIENCY, INTEGRITY

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 3 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov, deputy minister of internal affairs and People's Militia director: "Authority of People's Militia Must Be Continually Raised"]

[Text] The 12th BCP Congress, the subsequent speeches and reports of the general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Todor Zhivkov, and the National Conference of Active Party Members, Statesmen, Public and Economic Figures in Varna in May 1983 set new, extremely important tasks in the further building of developed socialism in our country. These are imbued with marked concern for mankind and for ever fuller satisfaction of its material and spiritual needs. Questions regarding the further improvement of political and economic relations in our country, the enhancement of quality and efficiency in all spheres of social life, and the strengthening of the socialist legal system and socialist rule of law have a paramount place in the materials of the congress and of other party forums.

This is especially important now in view of the fact that the tasks of building a developed socialist society are being performed in a complex international situation and during a continuing mounting of tension. Imperialism and, above all, the militaristic circles in the United States and NATO are endeavoring with all their resources to achieve military superiority over the Warsaw Pact countries, are redividing the world into "spheres of influence" and are continually intensifying their aggressive operations. The Moscow meeting of the key party figures and statesmen of the countries of the socialist community in June 1983 found that in recent years "the attempts to intervene in the internal affairs of the socialist, and of many other, countries have become more frequent; mutually advantageous relations are crumbling, hostile campaigns are incited against the socialist countries, and other methods of pressure are employed as well." The class sense of the international policy of the Reagan administration and its satellites is clear--to discredit the successes of real socialism in the eyes of millions of working people in the capitalist and developing countries and bring the progressive changes in the world to a standstill.

In such a situation the People's Militia is continuously increasing its contribution to the implementation of party policy in the economic and social sphere, thus positively influencing the further enhancement of our country's authority and prestige. At the 12th BCP Congress Comrade T. Zhivkov pointed out that the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs "are worthily repaying the party and the people's concern" and are dependably "keeping watch over the security, tranquillity and safety of Bulgarian citizens."

Unquestionably we are pleased with this high appreciation and we accept it with deep gratitude. But on the basis of the high criteria that the congress set and of the requirements and theses of the National Conference in Varna, the results that have been achieved can no longer satisfy us today. There are both unsolved questions and problems in our work; there is still something to be desired in the further enhancement of the quality and efficiency of the militiaman's labor.

What has been achieved in the area of preventive work is not satisfactory. The campaign against thefts, wasteful practices, speculation, idleness, rape, crimes of juveniles and minors and other vices alien to socialism and our society is not up to the necessary level. A considerable number of crimes are not detected in time or in a first-class manner and the perpetrators are not duly exposed. Despite the results that have been achieved there is still much to be desired as regards traffic standards and safety, in the area of foreign-currency smuggling, recidivist criminality etc. All this not only is of great public, social, moral and legal significance, but also significantly affects the authority and prestige of the People's Militia.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has always striven to invest the People's Militia with a noble and humane image corresponding to the character of the new social order. During the years of the building of socialism in our country the campaign for the high authority of the People's Militia has been inseparable from the campaign for the authority of the people's power. And this is perfectly natural. The agencies of the People's Militia have no purposes or missions other than providing the most favorable conditions for the relaxation, recreation, creative contribution and security of the working people in our country. And this is the sum and substance of the policy of the people's power. Without the necessary authority among the population, the militia would be cut off from its natural base, which unquestionably would engender additional difficulties in our activity. But the authority of the militia is built on the strict and unconditional observance of the laws and on the personal conduct and external appearance of every functionary. The authority of the militia is not a matter of personal or departmental--but, in maximum measure, of nationwide--importance. It is based on close bonds with the people and on the concern and attention which the BCP bestows on the creative maturation and development of militia personnel.

As a result, it is increasingly necessary to face up openly to acts of indiscipline, to abuse of official position and violations of socialist morality by individual functionaries of the People's Militia.

Especially urgent now is the campaign against scattered manifestations of philistinism and for the elimination of crimes for the purpose of doing personal favors, as well as for the restriction and gradual elimination of extraordinary occurrences and disciplinary infractions resulting from the misuse of alcohol; breaches of public order through shootings and other acts of our functionaries; unlawful, coarse and disrespectful treatment of citizens; improper tactical actions etc., which most seriously impair the social prestige of the People's Militia. The proper solution of these questions is especially urgent since they have profound ideological-and-political and social overtones.

Our duty to our party and people bids us serve them loyally and selflessly and spare no pains, effort or time to safeguard the socialist legal system and protect socialist and personal property and the tranquillity and happiness of the working people. And any attempt to deviate from the norms of the socialist way of life, and violation of the laws by any functionary of the People's Militia must most resolutely be nipped in the bud. Only thus will we be able to preserve--and elevate to a still higher level--the authority and honor of the militiaman.

An important factor in further improvement of the quality and efficiency of the militiaman's work and in elevation of the prestige of the militiaman's profession is the activity of outstanding personnel and winners in socialist competition, of mentors and personnel with long years of service. By their personal example, they must help their superiors in implementing the directives, orders and instructions of the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and DNM [People's Militia Directorate] chiefs, must enthrill other employees to improve their professional expertise, must initiate younger people into the service and form in them the qualities of a militiaman. The role of both party and Komsomol organizations and of political organizers and the political and educational work that they conduct must be stepped up still more along these lines.

Further elevation of the level of authority and prestige of the People's Militia is greatly dependent on the work of unit chiefs. They are closest to the functionaries and hence should be best acquainted with the latter's traits of morality and will. Directly dependent on the work of the one-man manager are the state of discipline and the sociopsychological climate among the personnel, the attitude of employees towards citizens, and their conduct in society. I can safely say that a one-man manager who does not have the closest and immediate observation over the work of his subordinates, who does not have in-depth knowledge of the personal traits of every subordinate and who is not concerned about their improvement does not measure up to the present-day requirements for a leader in the People's Militia.

Success in the work, and the prestige of the People's Militia also depend to a significant extent on the proper organization of the study, popularization and inculcation of progressive Bulgarian and Soviet experience. The 12th Party Congress directed attention to this question especially, defining it as one of the deciding factors in further nationwide intensification in our country.

As a result of the correct understanding by personnel of the tasks stemming from the People's Militia congress, many subunits have achieved good results in the practical interpretation of the best Bulgarian and foreign experience in militia work. The tremendous moral force of the personal example of the best employees and the potentialities of moral and material incentives are now used more widely and effectively. In work with personnel—and especially with newcomers, active use is made of the educational influence of the People's Militia's glorious traditions, of museum collections and corners, of Dimitrov rooms and rooms celebrating the glory of combat and labor. This has a salutary effect in revealing new potential reserves for the further improvement of militia work.

But fairness requires us to point out that this activity still has not become a constant work style and method. But if we succeed in introducing it into mass practice everywhere, we shall make a great stride forward, for everybody's work will be compared with that of the best employees. We must in future constantly bear in mind the main conclusion stemming from the National Conference in Varna, namely that we greet the National Party Conference with real changes in our practical activity. This means continually raising the criteria for the results of our work and elevating the standard of quality and efficiency at all levels and in all links. Only such an approach to the work will meet with the gratitude of the people, create an atmosphere of confidence and support, and enhance the prestige and authority of the People's Militia.

Hard and strenuous work lies ahead of us. The high criteria that the BCP sets for us and the requirement of continuous improvement in the ways and means of combating criminality and breaches of public order call for great exertion in the forces of People's Militia functionaries. Our authority is raised by high professional ability and by proving ourselves every day as political figures, as people serving honestly and worthily, faithful and devoted unto death to the cause of the party and people.

We must sacredly observe and cultivate the precept of the leader and teacher of our people, G. Dimitrov, namely that the strength of the People's Militia lies in its inseverable bond with the people, in the fact that it has no interests, purposes and missions other than the interests, purposes and missions of the people, lives the life of the people and walks hand in hand with them. The people like our People's Militia. . . This affection, however, must be intensified, must be strengthened, must be cultivated.

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CSO: 2200/140

SED OFFICIAL CITES CADRE, TASK FULFILLMENT PROBLEMS

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 15, 20 Jul 83 pp 22-23

[Interview with Kurt Seibt, chairman of the SED Central Audit Commission, by Ignacy Wirski for ZYCIE PARTII, biweekly organ of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party; date and place not specified: "We Are Concentrating on Economic Problems"]

[Text] At the end of June and early July of 1983 Poland was visited by a delegation of the SED Central Audit Commission, headed by its chairman, Kurt Seibt, at the invitation of Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Audit Commission. The guests visited Olsztyn, Bialystok, and Radom. They met with Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member, and PZPR Central Committee secretary. At the end of the visit Kurt Seibt, chairman of the SED Central Audit Commission, granted an interview to a reporter from ZYCIE PARTII.

[Question] Comrade Chairman, this was a reciprocal visit on your part. Thus, you are familiar with the scope of responsibilities of the PZPR Central Audit Commission and you have been appraised of the current situation in our country...

[Answer] As you know, last year we were visited by your Central Audit Commission delegation, headed by its chairman, Kazimierz Morawski. Now we are visiting you. Therefore, we have had enough time to talk, share experiences, think, and calmly rethink everything. In Olsztyn, Bialystok, and Radom we also acquainted ourselves with the work of their voivodship Audit Commissions. We visited enterprises and talked with people, both party and nonparty members. I can say that the character of work of your Audit Commission is the same as ours. We know that in the past your Audit Commission limited its activities to financial control of the party. Now you have advanced much further and therefore our meetings are interesting due to richer comparative material and thus greater opportunities to benefit from mutual experiences.

[Question] What are the main work directions of your commission?



[Answer] Our commission as well as yours engages in control of the execution of party decisions by the party organizations. This is identical for both commissions. The interpretation of tasks differs, however. This is understandable, because the situation differs in both countries and thus the needs are different. We focus on economic problems. We are interested in the influence of the work of party organizations on the economy of the Bezirke or the enterprise. Naturally, the party for the main part is engaged in ideological and political activities. But these activities are effective when they assist in solving the current as well as long-term economic tasks.

[Question] You measure the effectiveness of the party work by production results?

[Answer] Exactly. We are interested in what our party organizations are doing to increase production efficiency, to manage better materials and raw materials, to use fewer materials and a smaller work force, and at the same time to achieve better economic results. Such is the program of our party. We do not live on the moon and therefore we also feel the effects of the crisis in the capitalist world. That is why we had to do something to change the structure of our economy. We must save and at the same time produce more and cheaper.

That is our recipe to deal with the crisis.

[Question] You examine the effectiveness of party's ideological and political activities, that is, to what degree they help in solving practical economic tasks in a given enterprise. So, you control...

[Answer] Most of all, we evaluate the attitudes of party members and the results of their work when solving the most important economic problems in the enterprise; in other words, we examine the execution of the slogan: "The party is where there is a party member." After all, is not equally represented everywhere. In some fields of industrial and social life the party is poorly represented.

Thus, we examine how the leaderships of party organizations execute resolutions, passed at the general meetings. We want to know if the suggestions made by party members at the meetings are being considered. We look at the entire party life. We openly consider every matter, with trust. This helps, awakens desire to work, and affects everybody. We examine with particular care how the meaning of party decisions have been absorbed by party members and the entire crews.

The work on shaping the ideological and political consciousness is the key to solving all difficulties.

The control is exercised--like in Poland--by party activists on a volunteer basis. That is why in your country and ours so much attention is devoted to good training of activists, who work in audit commissions.



Lately we have dealt with unjustified differences between individual Bezirken and enterprises in the area of achieved economic results. We have come to a conclusion that poorer results were achieved where the cadre policy was deficient. Our conclusions were presented to appropriate district party committees.

Correct cadre policy and continuous political work with the cadre is tremendously important to our practice and the task we are performing. We are also interested in the farmers' associations in terms of their impact on the growth of agricultural economy...

[Question] How do you view the effectiveness of conducted audits?

[Answer] A very important form of audit is listening to what people say. While traveling in your country we have noticed great progress in all fields. Everywhere we have observed calm and order. This is a result of the effective work of your party and of consistent execution of the decisions of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

But...you asked about the effectiveness of the work of our commissions? Hers is an example: We had found out that an enterprise in Brandenburg failed to fulfill the tasks. We conducted a comprehensive party audit and in its course jointly with comrades responsible for ideological and political work we discussed everything point by point. Thus, showing them their weak points we tried to help them. When we conducted another audit a few months later, we found out that production, savings, and technical progress greatly improved. But also the ideological and political work was improved and better adapted to local needs.

[Question] What about other instances?

[Answer] We conduct audits in various party organizations--in enterprises and in the villages, state institutions, and organizations of party cells--to verify their assimilation of party decisions and transformation of these decisions into the language of tasks in specific conditions present in a given enterprise or institution. We observe what tasks are given to party members and what are the results of their execution in industry and agriculture, wherever party members are employed. If the party work is good it should be reflected in production results. If production tasks are not fulfilled, it means that the party work is improperly carried out in some areas. We try to find this weak link to help repairing it. Then, after 3-4 months we return to the original troublesome spot to find out how our postaudit suggestions were implemented and how that implementation affected the production results.

Reaudits give us answers to what extent our suggestions have been implemented. We inform the superior party echelons about the results of our work. This also affects the implementation of our suggestions.

[Question] Could you tell us, Comrade, in a few words about the changes within SED since its 10th Congress?

[Answer] There was no need for any major change. Our party for the most part is based in the working class. Nearly half of its members is directly employed either in industrial production or in agriculture. In this sense nothing was changed in the party's social composition. I am talking about the percentages in its social makeup. However, we accepted a considerable number of young people, who had exhibited outstanding performance in their youth organizations and at the same time showed good performance in production. In this way we strengthened the party ranks with the youth. In general, we are working on a concept, which will allow every party member to see his role in the execution of the party program. We are trying to create everywhere an atmosphere of good work and...better understanding of difficult situations. We still want to see a continuous growth of our gross national product accompanied by decreasing use of raw materials and human resources.

[Question] Allow me, Comrade, to refer again to the 10th SED Congress. There Comrade Honecker stated the following: "We know from our own experience that the true friendship surfaces above all in complex situations; this also concerns our relationship with Poland." The circumstances during which these words were spoken are well known. I wish to ask, however, how do you, Comrade, view the current state of our relations?

[Answer] A few words about the statement of Comrade Honecker: In this manner we expressed at the time our deep trust in the Polish working class and its party. We believed that so rich in revolutionary traditions Polish working class, which had managed to defend itself in difficult times in the past, would emerge victorious from the new troubles. We were right.

The words of Comrade Honecker contained respect for and trust in the Polish working class and friendly Polish nation. Today, as we have had an opportunity to observe, the life in your country is normal. Enterprises fulfill their tasks. We have seen that everything goes well in your country. We experienced friendly welcome and we were addressed with confidence. I was very impressed by the talks and meetings in which I participated. The friendship ties between our parties and nations have proved to be lasting. And this is what makes one happy the most.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

8609

CSO: 2600/1155

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CIVIL DEFENSE OFFICER CAREER REQUIREMENTS DESCRIBED

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German Vol 3 No 4, 1983 (signed to press 13 May 83) p 14

['The Topical Argument' feature by Civil Defense Lt Col R. Kuegler: "Why Do We Need Civil Defense Officers? How Does One Become a Civil Defense Officer?"]

[Text] Given the requirements of a modern socialist home defense and in view of the policy of confrontation practiced by the United States administration and its allies against the socialist community of states, the civil defense officers bear a great responsibility for organizing the protection of our population and economy from catastrophes and serious accidents as well as from the consequences of a possible military aggression on the part of imperialism.

Working together with the leading organs, enterprises, institutions, and cooperatives of the State and the economy, with the social forces, and not least with volunteer workers in civil defense formations, they do everything they can to fulfill the tasks of civil defense as an element of home defense as these are stipulated in paragraph 5, section 1 of the Law on the Home Defense of the GDR of 13 October 1978 (Legal Gazette, Part 1, Number 35).

The manifold tasks and measures of civil defense, which are integrated solidly in the governmental and economic as well as social processes, require also professional cadres who are employed on a permanent basis in civil defense and who are particularly qualified in their special field--that is, civil defense officers. In order to be able to reliably fulfill the class mission assigned by the Tenth SED Party Congress, the civil defense officers must measure up to their tasks with a firm class standpoint, a superior knowledge and ability, and with their entire being. They become qualified for this above all through a university-level education at the Institute for Civil Defense.

How Does One Become a Civil Defense Officer?

The prerequisite is that all the requirements which are placed on applicants for a military career are fulfilled. The applicants must have the degree

of preparedness needed for a 4-year higher-education program and for enlistment as career officers in accordance with the provisions of the Civil Defense Service Career Order (Legal Gazette, Part 1, Number 12/1982), and the legally stipulated military service must have been performed. The applicant must meet the university-entrance requirements (secondary-school graduation or technical-school degree) (in exceptional cases, passing of the tenth grade and completion of a secondary-school graduation course of studies at a military educational institution), and there must be a certification by a military doctor of his fitness for a career as an officer. The maximum age of the future civil defense officer candidates is 30 years old. Written applications not made out on any specific form are to be sent (by the end of the year for the higher-education program beginning in September of the following year or for the secondary-school graduation course), along with a short statement of reasons for choosing the profession of civil defense officer, to the appropriate civil defense headquarters of the kreis or to the Institute for Civil Defense.

After reception of all the documents, an invitation is sent to the applicant not later than 3 months before the beginning of studies to have an admission interview at the Institute for Civil Defense, where a decision is made on his admission to the higher-education program.

After 4 years of successful studies at the Institute for Civil Defense, he is given the commission of civil defense second lieutenant, along with a conferral of the vocational designation of graduate engineer-economist.

Then in practical work at a civil defense executive organ or teaching institution the graduates put their knowledge and ability to the test.

12114

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CALL FOR MORE YOUTH IN PARTY STRUCTURE

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 38, No 15, 1983 (signed to press 28 Jul 83)  
pp 569-571

[Article by Harry Dietrich, section leader of the SED Central Committee: "Some current problems of cadre work in preparation for the 1983-84 party elections."]

[Text] The resolution taken by the Sixth Central Committee session on the 1983/84 party elections assigns the task to elevate further the party's leadership role in all domains of public life and bolster the party organizations' fighting strength through high-level intra-party life. The tasks detailed in the speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee, before the first kreis secretaries are to be brought to realization in every way. The report to the Sixth Central Committee session defines the basic concern of the party elections as "making fully effective all advantages and impulses of socialism for continuing the main task policy in its unity of economic and social policy and mobilizing and leading to success the communists and all citizens in our country in the political mass effort for the all-round strengthening of the GDR and the safeguarding of peace."

Results will be best in those party organizations where confident relations with people become closer, political-ideological work is conducted aggressively, party work is made more effective in all areas--especially on the crucial battleground, the economy--through fighting spirit and high dedication, Central Committee resolutions are implemented with rigor, initiative and good sense, and the concrete tasks in cadre work are derived from them.

The resolute implementation of the resolutions of the 10th party congress and of the Central Committee is crucial for our party's being able to cope with always new and greater tasks and for the cadres' being able to cope at all times with all requirements of public life in the GDR and of international development. The party executive keeps perfecting the system of training and advanced training. As our society develops, so after all also develop the demands placed on the cadre, their class-consciousness and steadfastness, their scientific approach to all public processes, their rigor in the defense of the Marxist principles, their purposeful actions, and their selfless dedication.



The SED has an expert core of skilled cadre, faithful to the party and closely linked with the workers class. Of the 500,000 comrades in party leadership organs, workers make up 51.5 percent, 51 percent with college or technical school degrees. In implementation of the 10th party congress and Central Committee resolutions a great process of maturation is taking place. Many longtime functionaries prove their mettle once again. Young cadre gain valuable experiences in their struggle and for their leadership. Hence, not only the tasks have grown but also the opportunities for coping successfully with the road ahead. Those party executives therefore do the right thing who are giving thought to how the fine educational level of the cadre can be utilized more still for our economic performance improvement.

### Principally, Working With People

As cadre responsibility and the demands made on their political, technical and moral capabilities are growing constantly, that then also sets the criteria for how to work with them. Cadre work is principally work with people. The Politburo report to the Sixth Central Committee session has pointed out again that our tasks can be resolved only by and with the people.

In the further development of the socialist production relations, the deepening of the social division of labor, and the increasing economic integration, an ever greater role attaches to the subjective factor, to the responsibility of each individual and each work collective. Awareness and labor discipline, the attitude toward socialist property, and sound political and technical knowledge--those are the crucial impulses that push us ahead. That is why first and foremost in cadre work comes the political-ideological work among people, the education, training and development of socialist personalities, of skilled and steadfast fighters.

Cadre work thus starts with every leader and executive being accurately informed about the thoughts and sentiments of the people, about the working people's working and living conditions and about the social and personal problems that arise from the fulfilment of economic tasks for them. That includes knowing and paying attention to the concerns, suggestions and criticism and providing respect for the words from workers. Personal talks with party collectives and on the job are as much part of it as is any concrete assistance given toward the fulfilment of the resolutions.

Every functionary should heed Lenin's remark: "Living amidst the masses. Knowing the mood. Knowing everything, understanding the masses. Having the ability to reach them, to gain their absolute trust."\* That is the criterion for the leader's maturity, the guarantee for his doing successful work. Enterprise inspections by party functionaries must therefore not terminate at the desk of the party secretary or plant manager but must lead to the party and work collectives. It must become each functionary's personal need to appear regularly in these collectives, explain party policy in terms of principles, and resolutely oppose anything detrimental to the relationship of trust between the party, the state and the people. That creates the climate that nurtures the sense of responsibility, creative action and disciplined work.

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\*"Werke" (Works), 5th edition, Vol 44, p 497 (in Russian).



This solidifies further the relationship of trust between the party and the people and tightens the bond between the party and the workers class and all working people. Particularly in view of the greater challenges of the 1980's, it becomes the decisive factor of our socialist society's social, economic and political stability, as an impulse of social progress.

#### Acid Test for Combat Readiness

The implementation of the economic strategy issued by the 10th party congress is an acid test for the cadres' revolutionary morality and combat readiness. Lenin cogently called the concern about the cadre the "central nerve" of the political management of the economy. Close, confident collaboration with the economic cadre therefore must be the concern of each party executive.

Party organizations educate many capable, class-conscious leaders who rigorously struggle for the fulfilment of economic tasks through their high personal dedication, in confident collaboration with the working people, under party leadership. An important party executive function is to qualify them incessantly for deliberately exercising their function as political leaders, as agents of the working class, and to educate them ideologically.

A leader of a collective bears a great responsibility for forming the people's socialist consciousness. Creativeness, dedication, and the will for an unstinting fulfilment of the tasks assigned by the party develop to the extent that a leader succeeds in convincingly explaining the good party policy to the masses and in leading them to action. A leader thus must not only convince by what he says and by what he does, in explaining political and economic tasks, but he also must struggle for their implementation together with the working people. That turns the leader of a collective into a key figure for the development of consciousness. Ideological education for the manager, down to the master foreman and brigade chief, is tantamount to forming fighting positions and creative conditions under one's own responsibility for implementing the Central Committee resolutions. That creates a working style for organizing, in line with performance criteria, a smooth production rhythm, more strongly still activating the trade unions, so as to mobilize the working people for taking part in the innovator movement and promote a climate of high dedication through regular public evaluations of socialist competition.

The party executives in the Brandenburg steel and rolling mill are directing training and advanced training there more at providing each manager, so he can educate the people, with solid knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and of the Central Committee resolutions, so as to shape clear positions on the party resolutions and a high and solid morality. An important aspect of party work is that comrades with executive functions themselves take part in intra-party life and that all comrades regard their managers as comrades-in-arms who consult with them and fight for the implementation of the party resolutions. Nowhere can functionaries be excused from party life or obligations set down in the party statute.

The basic party organization bears a growing responsibility as the political organizer in the implementation of the economic strategy, the political-ideological work for implementing the Central Committee resolutions, and the further consolidation of confident relations between the party and the people. The solution of its tasks significantly depends on the political maturity, knowledge and abilities of the secretaries and executive members of the party organization. To provide thousands of volunteer comrades with constantly increasing skills for it makes high demands on their training and advanced training in Marxism-Leninism.

Regular instruction and advanced training for party secretaries is gaining in importance here. The Spremberg Kreis Management rightly proceeds from that in unity with the monthly day of instruction and advanced education the whole variety of vivid and purposeful relations with the basic organizations must be taken into account. The consultations and the experience exchange are aimed at strengthening the basic organizations' fighting strength in the implementation of the economic strategy, raising intra-party life onto a higher level, thereby heightening all communists' sense of responsibility and their activities, and improving the quality of political mass activities and the substance and style of ideological work. In thoroughly explaining the tasks derived for the party secretaries from the Central Committee resolutions, more room is provided for the presentation of their ideas, projects and problems. That utilizes their rich store of experiences in political leadership and furthers an atmosphere of constructive work.

Our party has always known how to bring new cadre steadily into leadership functions. The cadre programs have always stood up well for a period of 5 years. Arnstadt Kreis Management and the basic organization in the state-owned Senftenberg soft coal combine have come up with good results because they have fulfilled two tasks with their cadre program, their measures for a steady development of a stable, operational cadre reserve: For one thing, they have everywhere developed cadre systematically who can meet the higher demands of the 1980's, secondly they could ensure the cadre-policy composition of the management organs for the next few years through a careful selection of the cadre and their political and technical training and their assignment according to plan. In this they rely especially on the youth brigades and the FDJ functionaries. They rightly consider that not only the selection of reserve cadre is necessary but also constant work with them.

#### Experience and Youthful Energy

Through assigning accountable tasks and an active participation in the struggle for the implementation of the resolutions, test situations are created in which comrades can acquire experiences for their future assignments. Then they sense that management not only outlines their development but seriously promotes them through talking with the cadre. That also includes attending a party school. Yet that does not make it necessary for every cadre to attend a party school all the way through; he ought to be delegated to one that is in line with his state of knowledge and is necessary for his future activity. That ensures both a smooth development and that tried and tested cadre and young people work together in the management collectives, that decade-old experience and youthful energy merge.

Target-directed selection and preparation of the cadre becomes prerequisite for selecting comrades, male and female, into the managements who with revolutionary passion are dedicated to the party cause, enjoy great confidence in their party and work collectives and can mobilize the workers class and all working people for the resolute implementation of party policy. One should only prepare comrades, both male and female, who enjoy great respect for their solid ideological fighting positions, outstanding deeds of labor and exemplary public activity. These are comrades, in other words, who fight for constructive changes with a sense of responsibility, high dedication and revolutionary creativeness, and who have a solid political and technical education. They always have to act in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, exercise class vigilance, come to grips everywhere with the anti-human policy and practice of imperialism, and give no scope to enemy influences.

In preparation for the party elections this means that all party executive organs, based on precise analyses, thoroughly assess the leadership capability and effectiveness of each executive member. Party group conferences, membership meetings and personal conversations in which the Sixth Central Committee session is analyzed ought to be used for making realistic assessments of the cadre and their work results.

The further elevation of the party's leadership role is significantly affected by selecting class-conscious, progressive and energetic workers in material production for the new executives. Our party already has a nucleus of tried and tested executive cadre coming out of the working class in that its proportion of workers in executives and basic organizations is almost 52 percent, in kreis managements 61.7 percent, and in bezirk managements 56.9 percent. In the 1983/84 party elections, the proportion of workers in executives ought to be stabilized and qualitatively further improved. Young, capable, zealous comrades, especially working class comrades who have shown their mettle while in the FDJ, should more boldly still be prepared for the new executives. Also the readiness by women to take an active part in the implementation of the policy must find expression in the composition of the executives.

That will make sure that party executive positions are filled with qualified cadre who without reservation conduct the struggle for high goals, take militant positions in any situation, and always seek new solutions and effective ways.

5885

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READER DEFENDS JESUITS AGAINST CRITICISM

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Jul 83 p 9

[A letter to the editor, from the Reverend Ferenc Ebele, Roman Catholic parish priest in Magyarpolany: "The End and the Means Are Proper"]

[Text] The 13 July issue of MAGYAR NEMZET published a commentary entitled "The End and the Means" and signed with the initials G.P.P. According to the author, the Jesuits not only advocated the improper principle attributed to them, but also wrote it down: the end justifies the means. In other words, any means, even lies, slander or other improper means, may be used in behalf of a proper end.

The author cites two quotations from the German Jesuit moral theologian Hermann Busenbaum. The first one reads: "For whom the end is permissible, also the means are permissible." And the other one: "When the end is permissible, also the means are permissible."

Well, these two quotations do not prove anything if they are interpreted correctly. To interpret the quotations correctly, however, it is not enough just to quote them; we must also know how to apply moral principles. What do the two quotations want to convey? They do not wish to say in any case that we may choose between good and bad, because if an end is permissible for a person, it means he already has decided freely to do good. Then also the means are permissible; i.e., for the chosen good deed the person in question may freely choose the permissible means that are available. Thus this person's choosing any improper means does not come into consideration at all. Had the two quotations been morally objectionable, the aforementioned Jesuit priest would not have received an imprimatur from the church authorities.

The Jesuits often have been slanderously accused of practicing this principle, but the accusation has never been proved successfully. In Frankfurt and again in Halle in 1852, the Jesuit preacher Ron pledged publicly from the pulpit to pay 1000 gold florins to anyone who could prove from Jesuit writings that the Jesuits advocated this principle. Dasbach, a Prussian priest and legislator, offered a prize of 2000 florins for the same proof. Nobody has ever claimed the prize. In the end Hoensbroech attempted to provide proof, but the Reichsgericht in Koln rejected his claim.

In Hungary, Dezso Polonyi made the same accusation in 1928. Thereupon Gyula Czapik, who subsequently became archbishop of Eger, called Polonyi a libeler.

Polonyi responded with a suit for libel. The court found that it had indeed been libel to falsely accuse the Jesuit Order of practicing the mentioned principle. The court's judgment became final.

Thus the author of the mentioned commentary has not proved anything. The enemies of the Jesuit Order lost this suit long ago.

But let us look also at the other side of the argument. It is true that in 1773 Pope Clement XIV dissolved the Jesuit Order, but he did so under pressure from the anticlerical French, Spanish, Neapolitan and Portugese governments of that time. Against the Jesuit order these governments applied the same immoral principle that they were attributing to the Jesuits.

At the same time Friedrich II of Prussia and Empress Catherine II of Russia did not allow the promulgation in their countries of the papal breve dissolving the Jesuit Order, and thus the order was able to continue its existence in these countries. Had the libel been true, these monarchs obviously would not have tolerated the Jesuits in their countries. In 1814, Pope Pius VII restored the Jesuit Order everywhere in the world.

The Jesuits deserve much credit also for establishing schools and spreading culture. The order produced many saints and scientists. It will suffice to mention Peter Pazmany, an outstanding man of our country. By holding retreats, the Jesuit Fathers have contributed also to the Christian education of the people and have raised to a large extent the observance of religion.

The Saint Gellert Retreat House is just opening in Leanyfalú. With the approval of the government and church authorities, it will be managed by two Jesuit priests.

1014

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Jelenia Gora, Legnica Plenary Sessions

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 28 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by ZK: "Intraparty Tasks"]

[Text] The theme of yesterday's plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Jelenia Gora was the actual course of echelon and party organization activity and intraparty tasks.

Jerzy Golis, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee presided.

Stressed in a paper read by Sylwester Samol, Provincial Committee secretary, and in the discussion, was the need of further improvement in methods of party work at workplaces. This applies especially to party centers in small enterprises and institutions that are still somewhat reticent in their actions and not visible in the work centers. Frequently the activity of these POP's [Basic Party Organizations] is identified with one person, namely the secretary. The rank-and-file PZPR members are too little involved in the day-to-day activity of the party. In this context, the discussants voiced much criticism of the directors of management units in the PZPR ranks that work quite energetically to increase the authority of the plant establishments.

An important task in everyday party work must be assigning concrete party tasks to PZPR members and effectively monitoring their implementation. Thus far one-half of POP has not applied this proven form of organization activity. In the present situation, individual party tasks must involve the ideological life of the party, and must particularly enter into the ongoing political battle with those opposing our policy.

Through its members in work places, the provincial party echelon became actively involved in the flow of life of the union movement that is being reborn. At present there are 455 economic units in which union organizations may be formed in keeping with regulation; in 275 of these such union organizations are already functioning. In the others, initiating groups or founding committees have been organized. The union movement includes more than 27 percent of those working in state enterprises in Jelenia Gora Province.



Economic problems are one of the significant themes in the life of plant organizations. Many party centers tackled the problem of saving supplies and raw materials, and due to this, they were able to eliminate the import of many such materials; this happened in the Dywany works in Kowar, the Polfa works in Jelenia Gora, and in the linen works, Len in Kamienna Gora.

In the concluding session, the plenum members unanimously adopted a resolution specifying current tasks for all centers and echelons in intraparty work.

#### Questions That Must Be Answered

Yesterday there was a meeting of the PZPR Provincial Committee on the theme of reinforcing the leading role of the party as a condition of properly resolving the problems of working people of Legnica Province. In spite of this description of the range of the problems, they have a significance that is not just local. In Legnica Province during the last few months, various levels of party echelons have done much to resolve the difficulties with which workers and inhabitants of the province daily contend. Let us call to mind at least such initiatives as the general increase in amounts of workers' allotments, the resolution of the party program for solving housing problems, and the activity on behalf of proper functioning of commerce. To continue this trend and effectively implement the conclusions adopted, the directing role of the party must be continuously reinforced.

In the introduction to the discussion, Jerzy Wilk, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, who presided at the meetings, formulated several questions that must be answered if reasons are to be found for the weakness of party activity that is still continuously visible: workers leaving the party, ineffectiveness in putting resolutions and conclusions into practice, and difficulties in attracting the younger generation into social-political life.

Alfred Kieloch recalled that admitting "conjuncturists," people who took advantage of their social position, into the party was an earlier weakness of the party, and for this reason it is necessary today to look closely at those newly entering the party.

The first signs of increasing party strength are becoming evident in Lubin. Uncontrolled ebb of members has been stemmed, ideological and political matters are ever more often being discussed in the party, and the effectiveness of action has increased community respect for the party. Tadeusz Korowski from Pielgrzymka, indicated the ineffective implementation of conclusions: Adjrezej Sobolewski, director of Social-Economic Division of the Provincial Committee, stressed the role of party members in worker self-government. Andrej Zalski discussed ZSMP activities in Lubin that serve to reinforce social stability and resolve local problems, specifically, participation in Lubin PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. Zbigniew Korpaczewski, secretary of the Provincial Committee, stressed the need for greater mobilization of members of party administrations. Speaking of the union movement, Andrzej Paderewski of KGHM stated that it was stagnant as far as number of new members was concerned. This is so especially because activists are frequently absorbed with the creation of structures outside the plants, and pay less

attention to daily work on behalf of the workers. Piotr Czaja, secretary of the Provincial Committee, indicated that ideological problems were addressed by the organization to a greater degree. Waldemar Lichota from Prochowice expressed specific dissatisfaction with the decrease in number of workers within the provincial party organization. In conclusion, J. Wilk spoke of the problems of the PZPR personnel policy, the matter of leaving the party and being accepted into it, the role of the party in social organizations, and the situation in youth organizations.

The PZPR Provincial Committee adopted the text of the resolution supporting the appeal of the World Peace Conference in Prague. The plenum entrusted the Provincial Committee executive board with the twofold task of intraparty work during the year and making this practice universal in the basic echelons. It also obliged the members of party administrations to be more active in developing documents and maintaining a closer contact with basic organizations. It was resolved also to analyze the problems of workers' leaving the PZPR ranks. The resolution placed much emphasis on the matter of implementing conclusions of Provincial Committee plenary meetings.

#### Kalisz Plenum on Ideological Work

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 29 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Zbigniew Menes: "Ideological Work, a Duty of Party Members"]

[Text] On June 28 in Kalisz, there was a plenary meeting of the PZPR Provincial Committee on the theme of tasks of the provincial party echelon in developing ideo-educational and agitprop work, and the role of POP in its implementation. Jan Janicki, member of the PZPR Central Committee and secretary of the Provincial Committee, presided, and the chief action group of the ideological front of the Kalisz party echelon participated.

Following the executive board report, presented by Eugeniusz Kaczmarek, secretary of the Provincial Committee, in four groups consisting of members of the provincial echelon and invited guests, the plenum discussed specified problems in the sphere of ideology.

Many activists opt for the process of consolidating the body of 48,000 members of the provincial party echelon and increasing the activity of its ranks; this was touched on in both the executive board report and in the discussion. Especially today when the need to concentrate ideological and propaganda activities especially among the working class is the result not only of the need to eliminate earlier neglect and manipulation of the political opposition, but most of all because obvious progress won in these spheres of party activity will reverberate widely in all other social centers and will create points at which the party will be able to increase its impact on society. The ability to keep up with transformations in the socioeconomic life of the country was singled out as one of the basic factors on which is based the capacity for offensive action of the provincial echelon, and specifically its basic centers which constitute the contact and target point of the process of renewing and

reinforcing the party and reestablishing its marxist-leninist character. Moreover, there is the need to intensify ideological and propaganda activity, which plays an essential role in overall party work. On it is built the plant, political, and ideomoral position of party members that is the foundation of PZPR authority.

Also stressed in the multitopic discussion was the fact that a measure of activity of party members is their participation in structures of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, which in Kalisz Province includes more than 4,000 activists, 55 percent of whom are PZPR members. It was emphasized that a no less urgent matter is the participation of party members in the union movement that is being reborn and includes 41,000 persons in the region, that is, more than 24 percent of the workers in socialized farming.

All participants in the plenum stressed that ideological activity must be a matter for the whole provincial organization, each of its members in daily work, at every work place.

The adopted resolution specified the directions of activity of the Kalisz party organization in the sphere of ideological work.

#### Chelm Plenum on Social Policy, Living Conditions

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 30 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by GAJ: "Social Policy and Living Conditions in the Province"]

[Text] Yesterday's plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee was devoted to an evaluation of the implementation of principles of social policy in the province and to laying out the course of activity in this sphere to 1985. Jerzy Szukala, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, presided.

Grzegorz Szyszkowski, secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, read the report of the executive board, which stressed that undertaking this very real problem of party activity under economic crisis conditions and after the excessively aroused aspirations of the 1970's may arouse doubt and dissent, but avoiding it and remaining silent with respect to these matters may result in certain processes and phenomena eluding control and being transformed into serial irregularities.

A number of problems of this period were evaluated by the executive board of the Provincial Committee, problem commissions of the Provincial Committee, party echelons of the first level, the Provincial People's Council, and the Provincial Defense Committee. The complex evaluation of these problems should make more accurate decisions possible, especially in allotting expenditures that must be directed toward the neglected areas of the economy or to those needs that will escalate most quickly.

As the report stated, in 1976-1982, 12,100 persons moved into the province, but at the same time 25,300 persons left the province. Those leaving were

predominantly young people who had completed vocational training. This is the result of not adapting the structure of education to the needs of the economy of the province.

The migration of the population from the villages to the cities is also increasing, and the Chelm population is advancing in age more rapidly than the general population of the country. In the near future this may cause serious problems both because of a lack of replacements for people managing the land and from the point of view of providing care for this aging group of villagers.

Chelm Province is characterized also by a higher index of nonproductive population than the national average, and this index shows tendencies toward increasing. A natural increase higher than the national average also points to the need to undertake a long-term program to insure care for preschool children, reconstruction of schooling, housing, and other activities connected with this.

In the meantime the technical and economic base of the province, decisive with respect to the level of meeting social needs, is not the best. The housing situation is unfavorable especially since one-third of the houses in towns was built before 1945. In Chelm Province equipping housing with basic sanitary facilities is worse despite the fact that much was done in this regard in the villages during the last decade.

The situation is similar in the realm of social and health care. For each 10,000 residents there are one-third fewer doctors than the national average, and half the stomatologists. The positive achievements in this area must be emphasized, however. For example, during the period since 1975, 353 hospital beds, 86 doctors, 316 nurses, 6 clinics, 3 health centers, and 3 pharmacies have been added in the province; due to this, the distance separating Chelm Province from the national average has been significantly decreased.

Unfortunately the number of persons requiring social care continues to grow, especially recently. Local studies made this year indicate that approximately 11,000 persons need help.

As stressed in the report, an important task in the sphere of social policy rests with the work places. This applies particularly to providing proper work conditions, just pay--according to result of the work--as well as social care, provisions for leisure, and formation of proper interpersonal relations.

Participants in the discussion of the executive board report included: Andrzej Kuskiewicz, district work inspector; Stanislaw Giwinski, member of the PZPR Provincial Committee; Maciej Redde, director of the WZSR [Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives] in Wlodawa, leader of the provincial contingent of delegates to the 9th Party Congress; Stanislaw Kosacki, electrician LZW [Lublin Coal Basin] mine from Cycowo; Wladyslaw Krzysztofiak, member of the executive board of the Provincial Committee and vice president of ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy]; Eugeniusz Wrobel, supply specialist from Mostostal [State Enterprise for Bridge-Building and Steel Construction]; Wiktor



Krawczyk, a doctor from Wlodawa; Andrzej Kubina, first secretary of the PZPR Main Committee in Siennica Rozana; Michal Wislinski, provincial doctor; and Jozef Niewiadomski, member of the PZPR Central Committee, a farmer from the Wola Uhruska settlement. Problems brought up in the report were referred to in the discussion; the discussants felt that the report evaluated the implementation [of the] former social policy objectively and outlined tasks for the future accurately.

Many speakers touched on the problems connected with health services. In the settlements there is a constant shortage of doctors despite the fact that working conditions are good in certain centers. Frequently, however, the matter "disintegrates" due to lack of housing. At the same time there are complaints in the towns--often well-founded--about the quality of health service.

Reservations have also been voiced concerning the allotment of relief money which in Siennica Rozana, for example, was allocated by the antialcohol committee, with no consultation, to persons who should not have received it. It was emphasized that the community frequently does not understand the custodial role of the government, and demands a great deal, but gives nothing. Here examples were given of senseless waste of social goods, and the consumer attitude toward life of some of the young people was mentioned. Much attention was given to the need to improve living conditions in settlements and in villages. Some participants spoke also of working conditions in plants where the labor code is repeatedly improperly interpreted, and due attention is not paid to the state of industrial safety and hygiene. And certainly these improprieties can be eliminated by better organization of work and by conscientious carrying out of service obligations without any expenditures.

Jerzy Szukala, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee addressed specific statements and shared his impressions of the most recent meeting of the Politburo, evaluating the course of the pope's visit to the country. The resolution adopted stated that in Chelm Province, definite progress was made recently in implementing social policy defined at the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the party. At the same time, town and settlement echelons especially were obliged to evaluate social policy in their regions, plant committees and POP, to evaluate working conditions, leisure activities, payment for work, and to analyze interpersonal relations.

In concluding the discussion, reports were accepted on implementation of conclusions reached in plenary sessions of the Provincial Committee during the period from September 1982 to March 1983.

#### Krosno Plenum on National Understanding

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 5 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by B: "In the Spirit of Socialist Renewal of Lines of Battle and National Understanding"]

[Text] Defining the tasks for party echelons, organizations, and the general membership of PZPR in reinforcing unity and effectiveness of action in the

Krosno Province party organization was the main theme of yesterday's plenary meeting of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Krosno. Also participating in this meeting were members of WKR [Provincial Audit Commission] and WKKP [Provincial Party Control Committee], secretaries of the basic level echelons, of some regional OOP [District Party Organization] and POP, and the activist group of the entire Carpathian foothill region. Discussions were preceded by detailed analyses of inspection of many centers, and certain echelons and organizations.

Participants in the meeting presided over by Ryszard Staczek, PZPR Provincial Committee secretary in Krosno, were the following: Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary; Stanislaw Woloszyn, member of the presidium of CKKP [Central Party Control Commission]; Tadeusz Kruk, Krosno governor; and Zygmunt Klimaszewski, commissar and plenipotentiary of KOK [National Defense Committee].

In the general report of the PZPR Provincial Committee executive board and of WKR and WKKP presidia in Krosno, presented by Ryszard Staczek, secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, and in the series of conferences and discussions, it was affirmed that during the 2 years since the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress, on the stage of hard experience and counterrevolutionary threat to the bases of state and national life, far-reaching changes have taken place in the provincial party organization. Despite the fact that in the period analyzed, more than 5,000 persons were expelled, crossed off the lists of a membership of more than 25,000 members and candidates, the provincial organization definitely and effectively is implementing the resolution of the 9th PZPR Congress identified with the cause of socialist renewal and the line of battle and national understanding. For the essence of the leading role of PZPR in shaping socialist social conditions and its aspirations to identify with workers and be trustworthy is expressed in the realization of the interests of workers, in meeting the aspirations of workers for social justice, dignity of work, and in the battle with social evils. A positive development is the entry into the party of many leading and outstanding representatives of various community-work centers.

On this basis also the general evaluations of the status and distribution of party power in the province indicate a growing role of PZPR, emphasize the fact that organizations, although they are less numerous, are acting effectively and are more cohesive and disciplined. The main fronts and arenas of actions are in the areas of production in industry and agriculture, the problems of implementing economic reforms, tasks in developing self-governing centers for workers, cooperatives, and territories, and the union movement in the plants. Today the battle for party position, for strengthening the state, and for progress in the normalization of political and socioeconomic life demands a special concentration of forces on economic tasks. During the last 5 months, as data indicate, the value of production in industry was approximately 35 billion zlotys and was 18 percent higher than in the same period last year. This is specifically the result of a similar increase in productivity. In the Carpathian foothill region, the tasks of buying cattle, milk, and grain are carried out well. The principles of economic reform have a positive influence here;



these have found a permanent place in the life of the province, inspire realistic thinking, and encourage initiative and thrift, and have introduced the principles of economic accountability. But the arenas of social participation in the administration process are the self-government organizations that are already active in 68 settlements and the centers of the union movements, which express the class interest of the general working population. In Krosno Province these have been formed in 190 plants, enterprises and economic units, and actually unite more than 27,000 members, including 6,000 who are members of PZPR. Party members together with non-party workers and employees also make up the basic front of almost 500 centers of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in the Carpathian foothills, numbering more than 15,000 persons of good will who foster the idea of national union and understanding. PROM centers play an essential role in the system of social consultation; they broaden the social base of controlling and combining all patriots who share concern for their father's house, and undertake the joint labor of shaping a prosperous Polish tomorrow in an atmosphere of internal peace and concern for world peace. These positive achievements and accomplishments do not, however, conceal the mass of problems and certain inadequacies. For this reason a uniting of forces of the party members and the whole provincial party organization to strengthen the unity and effectiveness of action is truly one of the most important tasks.

The following participated in turn in the discussion: Stanislaw Rzasa, first secretary of the PZPR Main Committee in Solino, Jolanta Bajgier, WKR deputy chairperson in Krosno; Wieslaw Skalkowski, member of the PZPR Provincial Committee and first secretary of the PZPR City Committee in Sanoko; Edmund Matysko, WKKP vice president in Krosno; Janusz Alojzy, member of the Provincial Committee and first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee in the Gamrat Plastics Works in Jaslo; Janusz Bek, member of the Provincial Committee and first secretary of the PZPR City Committee in Krosno; Jerzy Malinowski, member of the WKKP presidium in Krosno; Stanislaw Jucha, member of the Provincial Committee and vice president of ZW ZSMP, participant in the Gdansk youth group conference; Zbigniew Sawinski, WKR member; Jozef Dranka, chairman of MG KKP, in Bieze; Leon Kapela, first secretary of the BPPD plant committee in Rzepedza; Stanislaw Surowiec, director of ROPP Regional Center for Party Work in Lesko; Janusz Patyk, Provincial Committee member emeritus from Jaslo; Janusz Kowal, first secretary of the PZPR Main Committee in Lutowski; and Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary.

The speakers touched on a number of basic problems regarding ideological and politicoeducational activity, as well as echelon organization of the party organization, and of all party members for further integration of the ranks and a full realization of the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress. An analytical, principle-based inspection of accomplishments of the provincial organization, and evaluations of achievements led to the conclusion, as was emphasized, that the party in the Carpathian foothill region is more cohesive and unified, and the return to Leninist norms is promoting the renewal of its controlling role and authority. The fact of general increase in activity is the result of involving party members, activists, and workers of the political apparatus. It was stressed that in these positive transformations, the numerous regional organizations with small memberships must not be forgotten since these have not

yet emerged from the morass and they lack initiative and ingenuity. Of course, the authority, role, and significance of an organization depend on the effort and activity of all PZPR members. Experience and concrete examples of political offense are evidence of this. As one of the speakers said, when stormy political discussions were taking place everywhere in 1980, party members from Korezyna near Biecze initiated reconstruction of a 5 km stretch of village road which will soon be ready for the use of the residents of the settlement. Such evidence of activity are the best argument and propaganda for effective party activity.

For this reason also, all party centers and activists of the ideoeducational front should play an essential role in the shaping of social consciousness and encouraging involved attitudes among working people by improving the forms of political and patriotic education.

In addressing the meeting, Marian Orzechowski, Central Committee secretary, expressed his views on many problems and conclusions. He stressed that the subject matter of plenary conferences, always of the essence and real, is evidence that PZPR fulfills an elementary and important role in solving the problems of all Poles. This is how it was on 13 December 1981, and is now when new and important problems confront us all. For the party is a most effective tool in the transformations taking place, as is fidelity to the line of the 9th Congress, to former achievements and accomplishments.

The leading and controlling role of the party, seen through a prism of its experience leads to the conclusion that for PZPR there are no indifferent or less important matters. The main problem, however, is the economic front, the possibilities of overcoming the crisis. On this basis too, the conditions for effective action of the party in all spheres and areas of life, to which the Krosno plenum gave attention, must be considered elementary and basic.

Concrete tasks for party echelons and organizations in the Carpathian foothill region in reinforcing unity and effectiveness of action of the Krosno Province party organization is defined by the resolution of the PZPR Provincial Committee plenum.

2950

CSO: 2600/1165

## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

### Reports-Programs Conference

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 26 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Chrobot: "How To Get Out of the Impasse?"]

[Text] The reports-program conference (20 November 1982) of the party organization of the Higher Pedagogical School in Kielce reminded one of more of a "name-calling session." Emotions came to the fore, and divisions and various animosities made themselves manifest. However, a draft document was adopted which, after supplementation with the conclusions declared, became a resolution ready for enactment. That is to say it is binding upon the entire school party organization. Since then, what has changed in the style of work and operation of the Basic Party Elements [POP] of the Higher Pedagogical School [WSP]? How did they recover and rebuild their authority? Does the party at the WSP have an influence on the course of academic life? Is it finally capable of leading this community? An attempt at answering was the regular June meeting of the POP of the Kielce Higher pedagogical School, which took place several days after the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR.

What is the POP like?

During the last 6 months, the ranks of the school organization shrunk a little. It joins together 237 comrades. But nearly one out of four WSP workers have party cards. However, the rapid drop in the number of party members in the student body, which is barely 23, is distressing [words illegible] studies, left the walls of the school, and those entered upon studies did not join the party. Since autumn, the organizational structure of the POP changed a little. In the Mathematics-Natural Sciences Department, one District Party Organization [OOP] was formed of 5 small organizations. Currently, the comrades at the WSP belong to three large departmental party organizations (at the Humanities, Pedagogical, and Mathematical-Natural Sciences departments) and four small organizations (military sciences, administration, and the Social-Political Sciences Institute and the Musical Education Institute).

Is it a lot or a little to have 237 party members for about 860 employees and nearly 2,200 students. It is not only the numerical status that establishes the strength of the party, but whether it is capable to have an effect on the academic community. And this depends upon the quality of its ranks and on whether the party organization has something to say at the school. As has turned up from the reports, "there was still not success in getting started with the planned political work in individual POPs." Independent workers are not seen at meetings and seminars. Also, finally--as is the case with the majority of comrades with scientific qualifications--they do not like party criticism. At the same time, "the evaluations of party members who are in the management positions of the school, the departments, the institutes, and other organizational components were high, or at least good. It is puzzling, then, why the party activity at the school shows so little movement," we read further in the report.

Many comrades--scholars, and this is also shown by the last meeting--continue to fail to understand that this is not the time for quarrels and dissensions, but time for rebuilding the mobility and authority of the party at the school. The last meeting was supposed to have been one of the occasions for this also. Its theme: "Attitudes of party members toward the tasks of the school" was boycotted, unfortunately. The stony silence was not broken until the critical words of Zbigniew Dulewicz, head of the Department of Science, Education, and Culture of the Provincial Committee, who stated, among other things: "as a member of this POP, I observe that it has become less and less disciplined, and the concerns of the party are becoming secondary for it."

The voice of comrade Jan Hatys was eloquent: "In party work, we are stewing in our own juice. Much is being said about the opposition, but it is easiest to speak of it over yonder, outside Poland, or in Poland. It is [a] rare occurrence that the subject of opposition would be taken up in one's own community, in a concrete party organization. Often this epithet is extended to those who have a critical attitude toward reality, or is confined to confirmed enemies. So, would it not be worthwhile from the initiative of the School Committee to begin open round table discussions among the staff and the students? It is necessary to appraise oneself of who is who. The atmosphere has to be cleared. The essence of ideological work depends upon this."

#### Tasks, Realization

In schools, including the Kielce WSP, as is known, the law on higher education is binding. The party can influence the decisions mainly through the participation of its representatives in collegial bodies. As it is known from the school committee report, it took up many various and important problems. Among other things, evaluations were made of the living conditions of the students, the labor safety and hygiene situation, the operation of the administration, the scientific development of the school, the activity of youth organizations, and attitudes of party members discharging leadership positions. The School Committee of the PZPR takes an active part in working out a statute for an institute of higher learning, also conditions were described on the formation of a cadre. In spite of that, at the last meeting, one of the School

Committee secretaries announced his resignation from his post, justifying his decision as follows: "The resolutions that we adopted were not realized. The School Committee does not have a concept of party work, its voice counts little at the school."

The news about the suspension during the current year by the Ministry of Science, Technology, and Higher Education of recruiting for two tracks of the Kielce WSP: physics and library sciences, caused considerable commotion. In the concept of the law on higher education, there have to be three to six independent scholarly workers at individual tracks. Only four institutes of the WSP meet these requirements: Polish philology, biology, chemistry, and Russian studies. The remaining tracks are therefore in danger. As the information of prorector of the Kielce WSP, Docent Jan Paclawski showed, "not a single one of the professors or professors with doctorates wants to come to Kielce without the allocation of a single-family home. At the same time, there are no homes and there will not be any. In this situation, the problems of the teaching staff are becoming 'to be or not to be' problems of the Kielce WSP." Then comrade Jagiello suggested: "I am amazed by the fact that the school, which has an income, is in danger. I have a proposal to do better by our own nonindependent staff and to facilitate its advancement and scholarly development. Let's not be just searching about Poland."

Uneasiness ran through the speech by Jozef Krasuski also: "There is great demand for graduates in elementary education and preschool training. In preschools and schools, not only in rural areas, graduates of LO [General Secondary Schools] are employed of necessity. And here, at the same time, the atmosphere is being created that the WSP are supposed to be centers of the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences], that they are to conduct scientific experiments. At the same time, these schools are supposed to teach and train future teachers. Persons with doctorates and masters degrees are making decisions about didactics. Independent workers have, at the most, several lectures and seminars per semester.

"Finally, in Poland for example, there is only one professor specializing in preschool education, which is a field of specialization that is among those threatened with elimination at many pedagogical schools. These will not be replaced by universities, especially in the formation of teachers by correspondence. The destinies of Polish education are outright tragic. It is necessary to change the outdated, anachronistic system of training personnel and issuing scholarly degrees. Currently, many talented scholars from the smaller centers are lost. To this day, there is a group of people in the Central Qualification Commission who consider that pedagogy is not a science."

And still another opinion was expressed by Stanislaw Antosik: "Higher education has to be reformed, but not by way of revolution. For it is easy to lose what we have gained. The minister is changed, and the concepts are changed massively. It is necessary to mark out stable directions of development of science, and not to surprise schools with sudden decisions."



## Anticipation

The problems of the Kielce WSP do not end with the personnel difficulties. They also include the basis, it is impossible to have the most important thing disappear from the field of vision--the education and training of students. Unfortunately, in this question, not much has been done so far. It is true, there are the appropriate resolutions of the School Council of the Association of Polish students, the student self-government at the Rural Youth Union, the scout circle sections. In spite of this, at the WSP, the stagnation among the students is continually talked about. Alarm is raised by the results of a questionnaire conducted among the students by the workers of the Institute of Social-Political Sciences. The image of the ideological condition of the youth is distressing. Attendance at lectures and seminars also fell. The sponsors of groups do not always care about this. At the same time, a strong student self-government can become a school of civic activity.

At the last meeting, then, the conclusion was announced for the School Committee to work up the criteria for evaluating didactic and educational work of academic teachers. A basic problem also is mutual understanding. For, both party members and non-party members, believers and nonbelievers ought to concern themselves about the education and training of students and on the fate of the school.

The community at the WSP is differentiated. Here, the party does not just have allies. It can recover confidence only through concrete action. And there are a good many matters that have to be worked out painstakingly. It was a good thing that the proposal was made for calling a rector-party commission concerning educational personnel. All of the workers are awaiting the working up of a clear vision of the development of the school. It is necessary to convince and to take consistent measures on the acknowledgment of these reasons. Thus, the content of the party ranks is important. Finally, this is made mandatory, among other things, by the Resolution of the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee, in which, among other things, we read: "An obligation of all organizations and members of the PZPR is the inculcation of the processes of ideological and political consolidation of the party, the raising of its activity in daily activity." With certainty, conducive also to this is the conclusion announced at the June meeting of the POP to have an evaluation of the activity of the party organization at the WSP made by a superior body.

### Groups--Important in Party Work

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 27 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Marian Lucki: "Groups--An Important Element in Party Work"]

[Text] For many years, the party groups in Poznan Province carried out an important role in the totality of party work. Experience showed that the effectiveness of political activity in individual work establishments, especially where they acted directly: in departments, sections, and shops, depends on their work. Party groups had considerable influence on

matters concerning improvement of management, the development of production, and the formation of socialist coexistence, and improvement of internal party work. Thus, a high standing was attached to the work of groups in a considerable portion of the plants and institutes.

An important role of the party groups results from the fact that they work directly at the shops and work positions, that party members have direct contact with their fellow workers, that it is right there that conditions exist for the development of plant and social-political activity of members and candidates of the party.

Having this in mind, and the fact that the resolution of the Provincial Reports-Programs Conference in an emphatic way obligates the levels and organizations of the party to put internal party matters in order and places emphasis on the necessity for activating party groups--the Political-Organizational Department and the Internal Party Committee of the Provincial PZPR Committee carried out a check of the activity of groups on the territory of those levels where groups continue to be in existence.

During the last 2 years, the number of party groups in Poznan Province was reduced considerably. Whereas on 31 March 1981, there existed 2,391 groups, during mid-May of this year, there were 1,358. This is the fundamental majority of them, because 1,092 operate in work establishments in Poznan. On the territory of local levels, groups exist only in a few plants. The distribution of groups in individual centers differs. Most operate in industry, educational science, and culture, local economy, and construction, and the least of them operate in agriculture, the health service, and the cooperatives.

Workers of the Political-Organizational Department and members of the Internal Party Commission of the Provincial Committee conducted discussions with the leaderships of party levels, secretaries of plant committees, basic party elements, and district party organizations, and with party groups. The observations, notes, and conclusions from these discussions allow it to be asserted that the party groups--as the smallest elements in the party structure--are underestimated, and that there is a lack of understanding of what kinds of matters they are supposed to occupy themselves with. Many groups--in spite of the best of intentions, many times over, on the part of the members of the party--do not really understand their own role, and in this connection, they are unable to make sufficient use of the specifics of the forms of work defined by the location of the group in the party structure, namely, that this is the smallest party element in daily contact in the process of production directly with the nonparty portion of the personnel.

From the discussions held, it turns out that in some work establishments, for example, in the districts of Nowe Miasto, Jezyce, and in the H. Cegielski Plant, the group leaders, for example, take part there in the meetings of the executive of the basic organizations or departmental organizations with voting rights and right of announcing conclusions, through which, not only is their party authority built up, but likewise, it permits the rapid and accurate imparting

of information. In the reverse direction--the executive has the possibility of constant and current follow up of the problems vexing the personnel of a given shop or section. In the Swarzedz Furniture Factory, for example, the group leaders inform the secretaries of the district party organization and the Plant Committee of the production situation, and submit problems that are vexing the workers, for example, provisioning, social, and wage problems, and participate in solving them. They report on how workers, including also the nonparty workers, accept and comment on government decisions, Sejm resolutions, or important political events in the country, in Europe, and in the world.

In addition to the cooperation of the group leader with the executive of the basic party element and the district party organization, his significant role--although not everywhere--is evidenced in 11 of the initiatives in the production and social sector. In those places where party groups acquire broader significance, in the Cegielski Plant, the Wiepofamel Greater Poland Electrical Machinery Factory, the Pomet Plant, the ZNTK Railroad Rolling Stocks Repair Shops, the Metalchem Chemical Machinery Works, the Swarzedz Furniture Factories, etc., understand this to be their role.

Attendance at meetings and courses, as well as all activities organized by the party leadership of a given work establishment depends in many cases upon the vitality of the group. However, in many cases, the role of the party groups most frequently boils down to those very activities, as for example, in Srem.

The checks of party groups and the discussions held disclosed that some officials--both on the level of party instances and of the basic party element--comprehend the role of party groups in the measure of the tasks of the entire basic organization, not understanding that a group that meets--most frequently during breakfast breaks--has to adopt the party stand in matters closest to the party members, without lectures and precise recording of minutes.

An example of continually improving understanding of the goal and significance of groups is the Nowe Miasto District Committee, where three times during the current term, the problems of the work of groups was reviewed. The PZPR Plant Committee in the H. Cegielski Plant organizes a meeting once per quarter with groups, at which it becomes apprised of selected social-political problems of the country and the world, and information is provided about the work of the Plant Committee and the basic party groups, and about the social-economic situation of the Plant. The executive of the City Committee in Gniezno, in April of this year, described the operation of groups, stating that their activity is declining in view of the paucity of interest in their activities on the part of the plant committees and the basic party elements. A declaration was made for strengthening them and reactivating them where there is a necessity for their activity.

As comrades in party levels affirmed, the main reason for the weak activity of groups is the selection of persons with little experience in party work for heads of groups. For that reason also, a proper selection of organizers of groups is an important element for their work, strengthening, and vitality.

Quantitative data indicates a serious reduction of groups. The reasons have to be searched for, not only in the reduction of the numbers of party members and party candidates, but also in the lack of understanding for the role of groups in the totality of party and production work. For example, the first secretary of the Plant Committee of the PKP [expansion unknown--not the Polish State Railroads] in one of the plants in Gniezno, in a letter sent to spirited activity of party groups--we are dissolving them as of 1 February 1983." It is the simplest thing to do--to dissolve them instead of activating them, and thus have no troubles.

Certain party officials came out in favor of the working out by the Provincial Committee of uniform documentation for group leaders, along with the current directions of the work of groups in the province. Some party organizations have their own documentation worked up, for example, in the Cegielski Plant, in the Pomet Plant, and in Wlepofam, which is simple in form and content, in which the comments and conclusions expressed by the comrades are entered.

Workers of the Political-Organizational Department and members of the party Internal Commission also conducted discussions with some group leaders. And here is what they said about their work:

"We hold meetings once a month, and more frequently, depending upon the matters that require to be thrashed out, and party position exercises. There is sincere, real discussion in the group--from minor matters, sometimes minuscule, to so-called 'big politics.'"

"Our groups do not hold meetings. There are eight party members in the shop, we know each other well, and when necessary, I provide them information in informal discussions. I am also collecting party dues and keep them informed on the meetings of the District Party Organization."

"Production is most important, and we discuss this subject most frequently--not merely at meetings of the group. Every month, the foreman reports on how things are going with the most important production, and we maintain the party stand in these matters...."

"In our group, we were thinking over what to do in order to increase our ranks with workers who were valuable both from a professional and a political standpoint. One of the members of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth expressed his readiness to join the party. As the group leader, I shall be in contact with him every day...."

We have presented the answers of some group leaders, in order to show that the party groups are necessary in plants and have an important role to fulfill. At the same time, the majority of party levels and organizations treat the groups rather bureaucratically. It is true, that in 1981, elections were conducted, however, the forms of work were not indicated to them, and at times, contact with them has been severed, or else they are being worked with on an ad hoc basis.

This is how it is, for example, in work establishments in Wrzesnia, Murowana Goslina, Oborniki, the Paper Industry Machinery Plant, at Polam.... The party levels ought to devote greater attention and care to party groups. Only close contact, systematic encouragement, and good leadership of party groups can facilitate the achievement of political-ideological and organizational-production goals.

5808

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CHANGES IN CONSTITUTIONAL EMERGENCY POWERS DESCRIBED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Wladyslaw Ochman, judge of the Polish Supreme Court: "Fundamental Interests of the State and its Citizens"]

[Text] The proper legal guarantees of the fundamental interests of the state and its citizens, namely the guarantees of external and internal security of the country and its ability to defend itself--all of this is how we can define briefly the substance of the changes recently made in Article 33 of the Constitution.

These changes were dictated by the experiences of the last 3 years in our sociopolitical and state life; because of them, the key agencies of state authority were able to draw indispensable conclusions. These experiences have been specifically expressed in a new constitutional entry, which provides for a basic law disguising three extraordinary actual and legal situations: a state of war, martial law, and a state of emergency.

They all have in common the protection of the most important and most valuable national and social rights which are the independent and sovereign existence of a socialist Poland and its system, the territorial inviolability of the state and its borders, defense of its external and internal security, and finally, the safeguarding of fundamental economic, social and state interests in the event of natural calamity.

It is necessary to add that the introduction by the authorized agencies of state power of these various states generally defined as emergency or if you like, as special powers, is also provided for by the standards of the International Treaty on Political and Civilian Rights from 19 December of 1966. Legal precepts for a period of martial law or state of emergency can be found in the constitutions of many western countries. It is also noteworthy that states of emergency have been and are introduced for periods considerably longer and in fashions much more drastic and ruthless than what occurred in our country from 13 December 1981 until 21 July 1983 during a period of martial law.

## State of War

What substantiates the decision to declare a state of war?

A direct armed attack against the Polish People's Republic or its territory by another state or group of states (aggression) for the purpose of: conquering Polish territory either totally or partially; changing borders; changing the political system; or depriving the state of its independent or sovereign existence. This decision can also be the result of obligations undertaken by the republic to jointly resist aggression as written in international treaties, e.g., Article 4 of the Warsaw Pact.

The Sejm or, when the Sejm is not in session, the State Council are empowered to declare a state of war.

Martial Law can be imposed by the State Council if the national defense or an external threat to state security require it.

The external security of the state is made up of, above all, those factors which influence the state's internal, political and economic stability; decide the position and significance of our country in its relations with other states or group of states, or in its relations with international organizations; touch upon its affiliation to alliance-type political, military and economic treaties or to secure and permanent borders. Namely, they are all those factors which allow the state to resist an armed attack.

The defense of the state means, above all: military strength; the capability of the army, its organization, equipment, logistics, rear area, communications, liaison and so forth; the capacity of the armaments industry, its equipment and production capacity; and finally the economic, industrial, leadership, and scientific potential of the country.

The Constitution had defined only two actual and legal situations justifying the imposition of martial law by the State Council either nationwide or locally. In the first situation, it refers to an external threat to state security in the event of a possible armed attack, the blockade of its lines of communication, economic blockade, the organization in foreign or by foreign countries of subversion and sabotage, or the setting-up in foreign territory of groups or units directed against the Polish state. The second situation is in the event of a threat to the state's defense, particularly to its military forces, the combat effectiveness of the army, or the armaments industry, or a threat to the security of its borders (land, sea and air), and, finally, a threat to the safety (within the framework of international treaties) of the combat and military effectiveness of allied armies.

A state of emergency can be imposed by the State Council (and in unique situation by its chairman) either nationwide or only locally in the event of a threat to internal state security or in case of a national calamity.

The internal security of the state, dependent to a great degree on its external security, means above all; political, social and economic stability; law and order; the correct structure and organization of the agencies of power and

state administration; peace and public order; the correct system and structure of social, professional and miscellaneous organizations; the state of public discipline and respect of the principles of community life.

A threat to the internal security of the state, as was the case for the imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981, refers, above all, to those situations arising internally which demand the use of means of an exceptional nature such as a grave violation of public peace or law and order, the impairment of the structures or operations of the agencies of power and public administration, a serious violation of social discipline and law, an appearance of terrorism, subversion, banditry; a decline in the efficiency of the national economy or in any of its most essential branches; and, finally, other acts or deeds striking against the constitutional principles of the state's system.

The imposition of a state of emergency with regard to a threat to internal security is directed, above all, at the protection and guarantee of the fundamental interests of the state and its citizens.

The imposition of a state of emergency in the case of a natural calamity is the result, obviously, of some kind of act by the forces of nature like: a flood; heavy rains and the flooding of localities; the bursting there and/or damage to water reservoirs; hurricanes; long-lasting droughts; severe frosts or snowfalls, fires of certain dimensions; and earthquakes. The result of these disasters is the immobilization of plants, transportation, communications, public utility services, including water supply, electricity, gas, heat and food--any kind of disaster which threatens to spread epidemics, infectious diseases, or contagious diseases affecting plants or animals, or which threaten the lives or health of people or property.

According to the Constitution, the imposition of a state of emergency by the State Council or, when dictated by events, the chairman, can occur for only a specific period of time, i.e., it must end on a specific day, month and year. From the contents of this statute one can also see that there are those situations which may warrant an extension of the state of emergency beyond the specified time.

The imposition of a state of war, martial law, and a state of emergency, either nationwide or locally, creates a situation which is made up of: a restriction of civilian constitutional rights and freedoms and the introduction of specific orders, prohibitions and other restrictions in the area of civilian behavior in public, professional, private and even personal life. Also resulting from the statute is an increase in criminal prosecution for certain acts committed during the imposition of these special actual and legal situations. Such offenses may be turned over to military courts for examination with certain offenses being dealt with in a summary fashion.

12247

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INTERIOR MINISTRY OFFICIAL DISCUSSES PASSPORT POLICY

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 32, 6 Aug 83 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Brig Gen Rudolf Rusin, director of the Passport Bureau [MSW], by Stanislaw Podemski and Witold Pawlowski; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] There is much talk about liberalization of the passport policies. Kindly elaborate on this as much as possible.

[Answer] Let's look at the record a bit. During the term of martial law in 1982, 340,000 citizens traveled to capitalistic countries and 680,000 to socialistic countries. Naturally, when you compare this to 1981 when 374,000 Poles journeyed to the West, this figure is modest but still is eloquent. I would like to remind you that during the whole period of martial law, and later after it was rescinded, we were steadily liberalizing passport regulations. Rigors of martial law were not employed with full formality or without considerations. In addition to travel for humanitarian and emergency reasons, we made provisions for departures of persons not in the productive sector, retirees, pensioners and senior citizens. Successively relaxed were permissions to visit close relatives at their invitation. Now, after the repeal of martial law, we are returning to passport practices based on the law of 1959. This still continues to be the basic obligatory act.

[Question] So what about the projected new law?

[Answer] We know that the public has been awaiting changes in the law and we ourselves have felt the need for an updating. For that reason the MSW presented a project for amending passport regulations. It has already passed through other departments and has been submitted to the Council of Ministers for their review. We are hopeful that it will be included in the autumn agenda of the Sejm's plenary session.

[Question] Will the amended law fulfill the hopes and expectations of the public? Those that are frequently mentioned by members of Sejm?

[Answer] Gentlemen, do not overestimate the effectiveness of the passport law itself. With all of its shortcomings and virtues, the basic law of 1959 allowed 634,000 citizens to travel to capitalistic countries in 1979.

In 1981, as I have mentioned, these same regulations permitted twice that number to journey. The law creates a certain combination of indicated solutions within a general framework. The actual political, social and industrial status of the country is always determined by a particular policy.

[Question] In spite of this, we persistently cling to certain institutional solutions. We consider, for instance, that the spokesman for this idea is, among others, PRON. That administrative decisions, as a rule, should be controlled by the Supreme Administrative Court. What do you think of this principle in regard to passport bureau decisions?

[Answer] You can ask the Supreme Administrative Court about this. From my point of view I would like to remark, however, that while considering the problems in granting about 60,000 appeals annually, it was agreed that with the existing two court decision system prescribed by law, with the possibility of each interested party being able to avail themselves of the additional review of a Charges and Complaints Institution, the interests of the citizens and government are assured.

[Question] In how many instances are the appeals granted?

[Answer] Last year was not a good one for comparisons because of the constant changes in the passport policy criteria. However, in past years every ninth or tenth was approved. It is understood that in addition to the citizen's undeniable right to a passport, there rests upon him the basic responsibility of utilizing it in accordance with the purpose it was issued to him, and so, the purpose for the trip, its character and the designated period of his stay abroad. Violations of these obligations must carry designated consequences in the form of possible future issuance of documents. In past years about 10 percent of passport applicants were denied them for this reason, while in 1981 denials dropped to 5 percent.

[Question] Factual reasons? This means you would write: "You were not issued a passport because your daughter remained in Canada"? Is that so?

[Answer] Yes, factual reasons! But why should we all of a sudden bring up such a question? The project mentions several reasons, for instance, pending criminal proceedings, intentions of avoiding family responsibilities and alimony, indebtedness to the national loan fund, threat to national security and also other reasons dictated to maintain safety and defense of the nation, or public order. In examining the incident mentioned in your question, there can be taken in account in the amendment project, the claim that there is no assurance as to who will cover the costs of the applicant's stay abroad.

[Question] The argument about national safety and defense is realistic, but also very general and capable of being applied in a variety of instances.

[Answer] I will remind you here however, that in the prewar act of 1936, as well as in passport legislation of other countries, there appears a similar broad and elastic clause, after all, there is no other way. I will repeat



once again: that in the framework of actual passport policies, the obligating legal norms describe the demands of the economic situation (socio-political).

[Question] How will it therefore be in practical application? Will the 1984 passport policy be closer to that of 1971, or that of, let's say, of 1978?

[Answer] Where do you get such comparisons? The 1984 passport policies will be such as conditions earlier mentioned by me will allow. Maybe you're interested in the number of people departing. If so, it will probably be close to the figures of the late 1970's.

[Question] Why don't you then renew travel to the socialist countries on the basis of personal identity cards?

[Answer] The reinstatement method would require not only the approval of the Polish Government, but also those of our foreign friends and neighbors. For example, travel to the GDR with the aid of a personal identity card would require a bilateral agreement between the governments of both countries. Please remember that nearly 7 million of our citizens had notations to this effect written in their identity cards. This arrangement had its advantages for the citizens and for our offices. It concealed however, a series of earlier suspected complications for border, customs and militia personnel of our countries. In the identity document you could not specify the period of stay, or the number of visits allowed, etc. However, the regulations stated that without a visa you are permitted to stay in the visited country up to 30 days. Abuses by a few of our citizen groups had a bad effect on the reasonable regulation. Later on, additional concerns of a political nature appeared, observed abroad as leading toward national unrest. If we add to this the economic difficulties in Poland, then the fear of withdrawing food and consumer articles out of a socialist country is understandable. Now the political reasons have been settled, but serious economical concerns still exist. I will say frankly, that chances for the reestablishing of this mode of foreign travel is not feasible for the near future.

[Question] Can you not therefore return to the so-called passport insert which everybody had at home? It had a lot of space for various annotations, stamps and remarks.

[Answer] The work required to issue an insert or a passport is nearly the same. A return to the inserts would not solve anything. I can however provide you with another important fact, namely, that we are beginning to issue passports to the European socialist countries valid for 5 years with unlimited entry and exit. On individual trips this still will require an appropriate invitation approved by authorities, or through the medium of a travel bureau.

[Question] General, July of 1983 opens a certain new phase and closes an old one. With what kind of a balance sheet? How many people from the great waves of departures of the last 2 years are still abroad?

[Answer] In spite of accurate statistics, we figure that there exists a margin of error--that about 125,000 of our citizens are still abroad. From month to month this figure is decreasing. With the suspension of martial law we have had a greater number of returnees. Now we are expecting even more. We wish and are doing everything we can, to have as many of these return as possible.

[Question] What sort of welcome awaits them?

[Answer] If those returning from abroad in their actions did not violate any Polish laws, if they did nothing to harm Polish interests, the mere fact that they have extended their stay abroad carries no responsibility according to the penal code. I will remind you once again of the regulation in the amnesty act which pardons and carries no record of violations admitted to a Polish consul. If however they violated any passport regulations, they can expect to face the consequences of their transgression. We have already talked about this, in the case of additional requests for permission to leave the country.

[Question] Continuing with the balance sheet. How many people during the period of martial law permanently left Poland for reasons mentioned by the premier in the Sejm?

[Answer] We received 6,294 applications of this kind which included members of the families, of this, 1,753 from interned persons, 576 from members of the political opposition. We issued 5,727 passports (suitably: 1,696 to the internees, 406 to the opposition). On the other hand 2,357 persons crossed the border. Many people after futile knocking about from embassy to embassy for several months in attempts for a visa, returned their passports relinquishing foreign travel.

[Question] How many of those who left permanently returned?

[Answer] Several people. I do not want to mention names since I did not ask for permission.

[Question] Suspension of martial law, the July determinations of Sejm, the amnesty law, all of these are supposed to promote normalization of living conditions in the nation. Normalization of this kind is also required by individuals and families which have been separated by boundaries. There is much drama, tears and suffering here, we know this from letters we receive at the editor's office. There are also many expectations.

[Answer] The problems of broken families are really a sad and complicated matter. Since the first of July, without waiting for a decision on the suspension of martial law, we have been reviewing with favorable results an increasing number of such cases, especially if the separation has lasted for a longer period of time. We will continue these efforts. We are now and will continue to issue passports with the welfare of the family in mind, the yearnings of the wife and children, but also with the good of the public in mind. This, without the consideration that the husband could have left

his wife and children in the country, extended his stay abroad or decided to reside permanently in the West against the family's interests and often in violation of Polish laws, without consideration for social or economic effects. The passport policy has no intention of increasing human misery. Certainly it should be the husband who should return to Poland to rejoin his yearning family. What is it that always the reunion should be by leaving of Poland and not in the reverse? I do not know of too many cases where someone of this sort would be moved by the conscience of a father and husband. He prefers to demonstrate and hunger at the embassy's door. This is disgusting.

[Question] Is it not better to leave these difficult decisions to the interested parties? If they willingly agree to this misery?

[Answer] That is why we emphatically warn: "Woman, reconsider carefully!" Is there a little corner for you, is he working legally or without authorization? What moral right have we to send people into a miserable existence, into temporary camps, to an uncertain future?

[Question] General, people complain in their letters that you apply your own specific convictions in judging a family's responsibilities. An adult sister faces the consequences for her brother's emigration transgressions, retirees suffer for their children's decisions.

[Answer] I am astonished that I have to explain such things. We have always placed the matter plainly and firmly: we do not apply group responsibilities. However, we do and must continue to review each individual case from a wide political, economical and family standpoint. We look with sadness upon the disrupted families, but we also take in account the educational background and its contribution to the economy. This is not group accountability, this is a position of looking out for the country's interests. I don't think we have to explain that the country cannot be indifferent to the fact if citizen "X" will live and work in his country--this point I would like to particularly emphasize--or abroad. This concern is important, asking: Where has one obtained his education and qualifications at no cost and where are the effects of this utilized?

[Question] In each case is it not better just to "put the cards on the table" eliminating conjectures and speculation?

[Answer] We do not conceal the reasons for passport refusals. We give verbal explanations and if the new regulation comes into effect, such explanations will be in written form. We realize that we will be taking on an enormous obligation. This is together with additional offices in the condition Poland is today. Some of our divisions are working at an accelerated rate, in poor conditions, with queues of clients waiting in the street. We realize that not in all instances will we have time for minutely detailed explanations, but we recognize this problem as urgent and possible to resolve.

[Question] People continue to write.

[Answer] Gentlemen, you know the contents of your readers' letters, we know the contents of the documents gathered in our passport acts. Do the people write about the real reasons, well known to them, for the denial? Not always. We also receive complaints about the decisions of our branches. Only after confronting what was written in the complaint with the contents of the passport act can you come to a conclusion as to the merits of the case.

[Question] Kindly give us a presentation of the new regulations for a trip to the West.

[Answer] We are reinstating individual travel upon invitations of relatives and friends to countries within the second payment zone, with no age restrictions

[Question] Will invitations prior to 22 February still be valid?

[Answer] Yes. However the new ones should be confirmed by competent local authorities and a Polish consular office. We are also returning tourist group travel organized by tourist bureaus, and also an exchange not requiring foreign cash. This for federal institutions, cooperatives and social organizations, after prior acceptance by the Main Tourist Committee, or else at the invitation of the institution after the approval by the management of the proper division.

[Question] Won't tourism by invitation become a fiction? We will only create an invitation black market.

[Answer] No, not at all, it will not be a fiction. The inviting party will be the one most concerned not to have the person he burdened himself with and for whom he is responsible, to stay for a long time, did not take an illegal job. This would make him liable to high fines. We from our end will be scrutinizing the parties extending the invitations.

[Question] In connection with this, did the consular fees for revenue stamps for invitations increase?

[Answer] No, this is regulated by the actual tariff. The fee is constant and is the equivalent of about \$12.

[Question] Following is an example from our correspondence: Retiree ZBoWID-o-wiec, has a bank account, does not have any friends abroad. Wants to travel, cannot. Asks: Why?

[Answer] You gentlemen are presenting an unusual case. It is possible that such an unusual example might be approved by the departments of finance and internal affairs.

[Question] Are the passport divisions prepared for a new wave of applicants? Judging from the way they have been serviced up to now--rather not. People camp in queue lines, delays may take several weeks, excursion schedules expire.

[Answer] In spite of travel restrictions of the past period, we have had no reduction in our workload. In the last year we have issued jointly over 1 million passports. We are well aware of the conditions in the passport divisions, besides, not all of them are equally besieged. This situation relates to rather selected outposts. We still have staff problems, poor office conditions and not the best technical equipment. We're doing what we can. In Warsaw, for instance, we have introduced a two shift schedule, we have provided help for our staff, we are working overtime and simplifying the flow chart.

[Question] Last question. Several months ago the press reported arrests among employees of the passport departments. How extensive is this action?

[Answer] It is true, several employees of the passport departments in Gdansk, Katowice and Koszalin have been turned over to the public prosecutor's office and some of them to the courts. I don't have to add that every violation committed by an official of the Security Service, but particularly by an employee of the passport authority, is in our department an occurrence of great concern. Such a condition always creates preventive measures within the whole line-up, to guard against the possibility of it happening again in the future. This all happened in definite conditions, the violations transpired in a period of anarchy and stress, causing weak characters to falter. Organizational consequence arising from this are far reaching.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Sensitivity To People Problems

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 6 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by ef: "Strength of Party Is in Its Sensitivity to People Issues"]

[Text] We know this because of our own journalistic experience. Every day, from early morning, the post office literally pours dozens and dozens of letters onto our editorial offices. The letters contain ordinary human issues: concerns, troubles, requests for intervention against red tape, ill-will, and insensitivity, sometimes outright illegality. They are most often written incompetently and with awkward sentences, but full of meaning as they search for justice.

Such letters are addressed not only to the editorial staff. People are sending them to departments, institutions, plants and the party.

People always wrote complaints and grievances, 35 years ago and today. Then, they wrote about chains, weapons; now, they write about a tractor and an apartment. There were times when complaints were regarded as a necessary evil; they were regarded as good political work, but evil because the strength of the party was not regarded as being sensitive to human matters, but as a relation to a citizen.

Such is the real meaning in the resolution of the party Central Committee 9th Plenum and Central Committee secretariat on the solution of those problems contained in the letters, demands, proposals and complaints made known to party echelons and organizations. The party has grown closer to the people and wishes to settle their affairs impartially and quickly, even though they are often difficult to settle. Particular sensitivity to everyday concerns and troubles must characterize all party members, especially those who have contact with citizens because of their work.

These things were discussed during 2-day traveling deliberations of the party Central Committee Commission on Proposal, Complaint and Suggestion

Affairs from the Population; these deliberations took place in Poznan with the corresponding Provincial Commission participating. We wrote about this in Saturday's edition of GAZETA.

Let us begin our reflections with the fact that these were meetings without theorization; proposals and opinions were expressed on the basis of a specific analysis conducted locally during the visit of the commission members to party town and commune committees, departments and the largest plants. The visits were successful from the point of view of Poznan and Poznan Province. Generally, accepting and settling complaints and signals from the population is the job of comrades with much experience; they are sensitive to human wrong and are workers and working people. This is how it is in Poznan. We need to be conscious of the fact that the letters, interventions, complaints and messages from the population are a kind of social sounding-board, an example of the view of people on the many phenomena of everyday life; it reflects public feelings to a considerable degree and expresses their point of view with regard to various phenomena. For this reason, human issues have to be the subject of special concern to party echelons.

What are the causes and sources of these complaints? In the first place, they are the result of the immediate economic situation: the shortage of apartments, and the problems with supplies and materials. In the second place, they are the result of the attitudes of workers employed in various organizational units which serve society; they are especially the result of a lack of suitable culture in serving our citizens, of sluggishness in settling issues, of insufficient sensitivity to human wrong, of formalism and bureaucracy, and often even of inadequate qualifications on the part of certain department administration officials.

It seems that beyond the fair distribution of what we build, little can be done in increasing the quantity of available apartments (we will have to wait for the results of government undertakings), but there is no reason why we should not decisively oppose social callousness and all the attitudes which breed conflicts in interpersonal relations.

It was justly stated during the commission's meeting that this demands joint action and attainment by all party members in order to realize through these attitudes and sensitivity, in all cells where they work, a party policy for keenly reacting to the letters and complaints presented to party echelons and organizations, work departments and plants. It requires integrated action and the objective compliance with rules and regulations.

Albin Siwak, a member of the party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of these deliberations, stated during the meeting: "It is very difficult to correct the ill-will and distortions caused in people's minds by the improper relation of a state official to a citizen, it is difficult to erase from a person's memory the bitterness and hurt."

For this reason, the significance of the 9th Central Committee Plenum resolution is great.

## Party Ideological-Political Activities

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 7 Jul 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by ZG: "There Is No Stopping in Political Life"]

[Text] Recently, the majority of the local party echelons in Zielona Gora has had plenary meetings to discuss ideological-political activity during the summer and to evaluate the preparations for the harvest. These matters have also been discussed at meetings of the aktiv and at deliberations of the executive boards. Many echelons have already evaluated the preparations of buildings and personnel for the new school year. Beyond this, local everyday and economic problems have received much attention.

Meetings of the party commune committees in Dabie and Trzebiechow have been dedicated to improving the forms and methods of political activity. The comrades from Dabie accentuated in their resolution daily adherence to the party's statutes, the leadership of party members at work and home, and a further activation of problem-solving commissions of the Commune Committee. The plenum in Trzebiechow sharply criticized the weak political activity of some comrades and organizations, including party members in leadership positions in economics and administration.

The commune committees of the United Polish Workers Party [PZPR] and the United Peasants' Party [ZSL] deliberated jointly in Bytnica and Zaborze the complete implementation of the tasks outlined in a resolution of the 9th Plenum of the PZPR and ZSL as envisioned in Bytnica. Farmers expect, however, quick compliance by the state and economic administration with their demands which include, inter alia, an improvement in the quality of seed for sowing and seed-potatoes, a limitation in the amount of forest game available and the activation of a veterinary center in the commune. In Zaborze, besides ongoing agricultural issues, people talked about a program to develop commerce and services during the 1983-1985 time period. The position of the PZPR and ZSL membership is uniform and totally supported by the public: the village cooperative, besides the improvement in quality and quantity of supply, must step up the modernization of existing centers and build several additional trade and service centers.

Meetings of the party committees in Wymiarce and Lubsk were dedicated to the evaluation of the settlement of people's complaints and suggestions. The comrades asserted that numerous irregularities in the settlement of people's issues, both in the offices, as well as in the plant, are again occurring. The Wymiarce committee emphasized in a resolution that plant managements should diligently evaluate those officials responsible for settling workers' issues; beyond that, the management should define their competence and duties more specifically. The causes for the rise of complaints, especially at work and in those places where they occur most often, need to be researched. It was resolved that the commune committee executive board will conduct a semiannual evaluation of how plants and institutions are settling people complaints. It was emphasized at a plenum of the town and commune committee in Lubsk that people problems in certain offices

and institutions are again settled in a slow manner, that they are not always registered and that those interested are not accorded a complete response. A resolution was adopted which obligates organizations and party members to completely implement the instructions of the Central Committee Secretariat in accepting and settling citizen affairs and to discuss more frequently at party meetings the proposals resulting from people complaints.

The secretaries of basic party organizations [POPs] and the directors of 12 of the largest plants participated in a meeting of the town and commune committee in Szprotawa. The tasks concerning the development of production and the implementation of social programs were discussed at the meeting. The plan for apartment construction, constantly below needs and possibilities, caused much controversy. In total, the implementation of economic tasks was positively evaluated; it was indicated that there still are simple ways to cut costs and increase production in every plant.

The commune's economization and anti-inflation program was discussed by the commune committee in Lubrza. The discussion pointed to the fact that the administration had not included production reserves in its plans and had not totally utilized some simple opportunities to cut costs and increase production by changing work organization. There are also plants, like SKR and the forest inspectorate, which still have not developed any economization programs.

It was actually the party Plant Committee in Nowa Sol's Odra Works which evaluated the plant economization program. The comrades did not have any reservations here about the activities or intentions of the direction. The POP and Plant Committee executive boards were obligated by a resolution to implement completely the program and successfully evaluate the effectiveness of administration actions. In the opinion of the comrades, the rapid introduction of a wage system, which takes into account the actual work contribution, production quality and thrifty expenditure of resources and energy, will have considerable influence on the success of plans, including an increase in productivity.

#### New Solutions Sought

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 11 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Buczek: "In Search of New Solutions"]

[Text] "The duty of all party organizations and members is the consolidation of the party's rank and file, and the increase of the party's activity in daily work." This task, emphasized in a resolution of the Central Committee's 12th Plenum, is an immutably important and current one from the 9th Party Congress. In order for it to be more effectively implemented, the search for new methods of action and their testing is indispensable for the party.

The reward of the 2 years since the 9th Congress is the extensive consultation effort for planned documents before Central Committee plenary sessions (this happens more frequently on the provincial and lower levels) and the more frequent appeal to workers' opinions (councils of the workers' aktiv with not only workers of party members participating); there are also more frequent working contacts between party authorities and plant work forces. Regional party work centers are a new organizational solution.

However, although the above-mentioned work methods have been fruitful, the daily activity of basic party elements and echelons is indispensable. The conclusions formulated during echelon and provincial sessions in Bydgoszcz, Torun and Wloclaw indicate how much still has to be done in this area; even though there are more and more active basic party organizations [POPs], the plant aktiv is expanding both in the cities and rural communities. Proposals are being more consistently implemented, party tasks are more often the activating agent and the ideological school system has been reconstructed.

Local echelons sometimes take advantage of the good examples set on the provincial level. Traveling sessions of the town and commune executive boards to plants and the countryside are rather often the applied form of contact; also, "party days" are organized in the countryside and other, personal solutions are sought and adapted to the center and situation of basic party elements. These elements are effectively supported in three of our provinces by certain Regional Centers for Party Work [ROPPs], especially those which are far removed from town and commune echelons. The ROPP in Swiecie belongs to these supporting elements; it has 10 town-commune and commune party organizations in its charge.

#### Interesting Initiatives

A new initiative was recently born in Swiecie. Although it has not been tried anywhere, it is worth spreading. It goes as follows: the ROPP leadership and the secretaries of the local echelons in the region came to the conclusion that it would be helpful to the party effort in the whole region if they jointly traveled to one of the rural communes (one after another), thoroughly study the situation by participating in POP meetings and conversations with the party and economic aktiv and then share afterwards the experiences and prompt the solutions which have been worked out in nearby POP and neighboring rural communes. And the secretaries not only prompt, they will also recognize solutions which they can take with themselves to their own town and commune organizations and to other POPs. These solutions will be developed by the hosts of the traveling sessions. The first such meeting of secretaries and the ROPP aktiv in the Swiecie region took place several days ago in the commune of Osie.

The Osie commune party organization counts 322 comrades, including 4 candidates accepted in the autumn of last year (1) and so far this year (3). The acceptance of these candidates is the result of frequent meetings of the party headquarters' secretaries with young workers, farmers and officials from the agriculture service institute who have distinguished themselves by



their activity and professional work ("These meetings are also our joint in the region; the initiative being only recently tried out," emphasized Arthur Malinski, the director of the Swiecie ROPP. "Thanks to this, we have won 37 people for the party during the first 5 months of this year.")

Stanislaw Felczykowski, the first secretary of the party main headquarters in Osie, concluded: "Recently, as many as 50 names were scratched off from the commune organization's list. Many had to be scratched off. Their membership in the party was only statistical and a formality; we had to separate ourselves from those who had discredited the party and its program. A feature which was prevalent was the large number of rich peasants among those expelled. These peasants had enriched themselves mainly in the 1970s and often with the support of the commune party authorities. For instance, they received allotments. Currently, many of them have returned; there is a lot of stealing going on around the committee..."

The number of people in the commune party aktiv is slowly growing; currently, there are 45 people in it. What is most important is that this body is expanding to include new, often young people. For instance, it was difficult to hire someone from the Village Cooperative [GS] as the first secretary. Today, thanks to Jakwiga Zimniak, this organization belongs to the most active and most prominent organizations in the commune. Plenary meetings of the commune committee are carefully prepared. Meetings take place with the interested representatives of the economic authorities, often ahead of inspections and conversations in the POPs and institutions. We have succeeded in reconstructing the ideological schooling program in the majority of POPs. Often, the schooling, especially in small POPs, is no more than an interview with one of the commune committee secretaries. But that is considerably the most effective form of increasing a person's knowledge. It is better than having a lecturer talk to him.

#### Complaints and Suggestions

The party Commune Committee in Osie attaches great importance to the settlement of complaints and suggestions. If the suggestion is unrealistic and the complaint unsubstantiated, then an answer, an explanation has still to be accorded; this must be convincing to the person making the suggestion or complaining. The Commune Committee received 72 complaints last year and 24 so far this year. Those complaining come personally to the committee; they do not write. They are mainly the elderly. All 24 of this year's complaints are substantiated, and those complaining were in the right. Many complaints refer to the Social Insurance Institution [ZUS], others to other institutions; some even refer to family conflicts. These are sometimes settled the way the one making the complaint intended; so it was in the case of an elderly woman from Brzezina, who had raised children who then left her alone in the country after they had received an apartment. Intervention helped.

S. Felczykowski emphasized: "The most important thing is for the complaints to be settled offhand. It is worse with these suggestions. Somehow it happens that POP suggestions never touch upon matters of their own

institutions, plant or party work organization, but are directed against others. For instance, the party organization from the Village Cooperative proposes an improvement in the work of the commune office, while the party organization of the commune office suggests improvements in the Village Cooperative's activities..."

During the meeting, the party organization of the Village Cooperative listens to the explanation that this is normal procedure because suggestions referring to one's own organization, just like those of the Village Cooperative, would not be implemented; they have to come from the outside. Besides, the cooperative does not wish to parade around with its own suggestions. We cannot but believe this explanation. The Village Cooperative comrades determined at this meeting, what chances their suggestions had of being implemented in the commune or if they should be passed on higher, to the proper authorities.

There were 10 of these suggestions: from one who focused attention on the excessively high prices in the Fantum Cafe in Osie, to those who touched upon correcting the base of the country's reservations and system of farmers' contracts.

Not all answers satisfied the POP; there will be no cooperative building in Osie until 1985; for the time being, there will be no extension of the public service center network, and the apartment cooperative has not given up making collections for the drainage system. In this last case, the comrades are requesting further intervention on the part of the governor. As before, they critically evaluate the farmer's contracting system; there is a need to end grain contracting by 15 July because it is never known what the farmer will receive otherwise. How do we talk to him about farmers' contracts?

One of the proposals of the POP in the Village Cooperative, and the idea was not only limited to this POP, referred to the activity of youth organizations in the commune. Recently, after the reduction in the circles of the Polish Socialist Youth Union in 1980, there was a lack of such organizations. Several months ago, the first circles of the Provincial Youth Union came into being; now, there are five and there are possibilities for more. S. Felczykowski states: "These are even active circles; many of the young people in them are eagerly trying to do something in order to participate in the country's community social life. Unfortunately, they have no support and no inspiration from the Provincial Office of the Provincial Youth Union."

Other secretaries from the town and commune and commune committees from the Swiecie region share this opinion. For instance, activists from the youth organization in Nowo, beyond the Polish Scouts' Association, are constantly requesting assistance. But the first secretary of the local party town and commune committee asks: "But how can we help them if they do not do anything?" It is a pity that at the secretaries' meeting in the Swiecie region none of the youth activists participated. Maybe someone could be found from within the Provincial Youth Union who could become a "liaison" between the provincial level and the circles in the communes of Bukowiec and Osie.

### Hopefully, This Will not End in Promises Only

There were many issues for immediate adoption during the meeting. We must urgently assist the comrades and entire work force of the Zgoda Cooperative in Osie. In the end, they were always left with promises; the plant is already "falling apart" and modernization is necessary as is an improvement in social conditions. The cooperative office has to deal with this issue. The office is headquartered in Swiecie; the Regional Center for Party Work [ROPP] and the party town and commune committee in Swiecie and the commune committee in Osie have supervision over it. The party commune committee in Drzycimie has to focus the attention of the party plant committee in the Jastrzebie State Farm on the activity of the district party organization in Jaszcze, which does not perceive its own disorder or lack of proper management. Outside intervention is needed.

Marian Schreder, the first secretary of the party commune committee in Bukowiec, summed up the visit as such: "It is worth continuing this type of work because it gathers experiences, which can be applied to many communes and POPs." Such was also the opinion of other secretaries taking part in the Osie meetings.

It is worth taking this initiative to other regions and to other cities and communities.

### Party Serves People in Plants

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 11 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Krystyna Majda: "Serving People"]

[Text] Party Organization in Plants

The Association of Textile and Leather Resource Processing Enterprises in Lodz supply industry, work cooperatives and tradespeople with natural resources. Whether those who work in production will have their positions supplied with the appropriate amount of resources depends on the professional efficiency of 44 people.

In the course of several months, a natural selection of workers from this association has been taking place. Last year, more than 30 people left because they could not cope with their new role which results from their work contract. The basic party organization [POP] executive board did not protect these people from being fired, recognizing that the defense of every worker being fired is not sensible. People are aware, however, of the fact that such a position does not increase a person's popularity.

The POP first secretary, Eugeniusz Sikora who performs her social duties much like other secretaries of this organization does not conceal the fact that she does not agree with all the director's decisions. On the other hand, she participates in the settlement of advances, firings, reorganizations, awards and so on. Sometimes, there are situations when a director

is not fit to occupy his position, but he has his own opinion on the matter. Ambition does not permit him to remain in the association as your basic rank and file worker, even if he is an expert worker. Previously, the executive board tried to help him, recognizing the fact that fired people from certain institutions are not easily hired in other places corresponding to their ambitions.

Eugeniusz Sikora says: "I tried for a long time to convince one of our former directors that he should give up his aspirations. He finally accepted transfer to another job and is settling in nicely. It is a pity to mismanage qualified people."

On one of the association's teams there was a vacancy for a leadership position. A nonparty member sought the executive board's recommendation. The arguments in his favor were plant experience in managing people, an ability to easily deal with people and much expertise in his area. He won out in the competition over the director's candidate. Several months after the advance of this man, the director, Jozef Kowalski, stated: "Filling this leadership position was difficult. Although it could seem surprising that our executive board would recommend a person who did not belong to the party."

Is the party prominent in the association? Members of the United Polish Workers' Party, the United Peasants' Union, the Democratic Party and non-partisan individuals work here. Party members (19) hold a decisive edge. But they do not isolate themselves; all meetings are open. They talk about work regulations, they discuss the issue of premiums, who needs public assistance and under what conditions is a person supposed to live. Seldom are there clashes because of political differences. As no one has ever thought that trade unions could help the party in many matters, so too does no one hurry to appoint a group to work on initiatives. Why?

Felicja Wrobiewska from the Leather Processing Team states: "The trade unions are necessary. But we have fought our way to the point that the party should deal with social matters. This is how it has remained."

Questions remain unanswered, however. Why is the party organization supposed to declare who has his vacation paid for, who gets to go to the resorts and who most needs permission to go to a sanatorium? Practically all these matters are in the prerogative of the trade unions; in accordance with the law, there is a voluntary selection of those employed in the enterprise.

Eugeniusz Sikora, in performing the duties of POP secretary and director of the Tanner's Team is not always able to deal simultaneously with political and social matters because he has too many professional duties to perform.

Sikora says: "Depending on my various duties, I would not embrace the organization of trade unions because that would be against the principle of voluntarism."

I asked: "What does it mean to be a party member?"

Master Engineer Kazimierz Leszczynski, a leather-tanning specialist, answers after an instant of hesitation: "We do not have organizational divisions in our institution. Besides, we always regard a person's party affiliation as his own business. Despite this, I admit to the ideology of whatever association I am in. I will not conceal my peasant origins. I have often said to myself that those who make their ideology dependent on their associates deny in various circles that their mother was a peasant and their father was a worker."

"Did I run into obstacles in performing my legal obligations?" he repeats and adds that he often asks the same thing of himself when it is difficult for him to deal with his own indecisiveness in moments of despair. Leszczynski says: "But in those difficult moments, I know one thing: I have to decide whose side I am on. Certainly not on the side of one of our female colleagues who recently threw away her party membership card. Today, she is the rich owner of a private firm. But I will not blame the party for dashed career hopes as some will do. And there are many such persons among the officials of various institutions..."

At open party meetings in the association, people sometimes talk about the attitudes, social justice and unsettled democracy of those holding down higher positions. They sometimes think that they are permitted to do more than ordinary rank and file workers. Neither the executive board nor the party organization is anyone's "whipping post." On the other hand, the idea of a "whip" for people employed in the association should be the fact that they have to perform their duties so that their services prove to others that they have not given up.

12247

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Federation in Trade Unions

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 30 Jun 83 p 7

[Article by el-ka: "Union Thursday; With Federation It Will Be Easier"]

[Text] The Ochota Voivodship Consumer Cooperative [WSS] union organization consists of 300 persons. That is not many--approximately 15 percent of the total workforce. But as Daniela Glowacka, union chairman, quips--it is quality and not quantity that counts. We do not particularly influence anyone to join the union ranks--she states--we do not agitate, however, membership steadily increases. It is evident that they regard our endeavors positively.

Because also from the beginning of our existence in January, we have been occupied with the ordinary affairs of people--Blandyna Szpicmacher, union vice-chairman and manager of the Jubileuszowa Restaurant in Ursus, remarks, as she joins in the interview. One of the first resolutions of our union was to increase the amount of allowance from 3,000 to 5,000 zlotys. Mostly single mothers benefit from these allowances. There are a few of them in the cooperative. For example, sending a child to camp or a summer resort involves considerable expense. A knapsack alone costs 8,000 zlotys. We do our utmost to help them with their financial problems.

We also established higher statutory allowances occasioned by births, death of a breadwinner or a member of his family. A resolution was adopted with approval concerning vacation surcharges for all employees and not just for union members.

But the union gained authority for itself only after the first victorious skirmishes with co-op management in defense of three employees who, in the opinion of the union, were dismissed from work too hastily. These people returned to the positions which had been filled. And this, even more so than regular participation in co-op management meetings proved in the eyes of the employees that this organization is held in esteem.

The present center of attention of union members of the Ochota Voivodship WSS involves the new bonus system and the issue of an adequate vacation for

employees. Theoretically everyone has the right to take a vacation at a preselected time. However, it often occurs that a colleague from behind the counter takes ill and then the vacation must be postponed, because of course the shop cannot be closed. And here it is necessary to find some sort of solution.

The housing problem, working hours, shopping centers, bonuses also plague the workforce.

Unfortunately we are not in a position to resolve these and similar problems on plant level organization--chairman Daniela Glowacka states. Therefore, we belong to that half of united union organization that favored the formation of a federation.

On 11 June a meeting of union representatives was held with the federation in Warszawa. I participated in it, having been delegated by the local organization. A committee was formed that will work on a draft of the federation statute. I take part in these works. I think that a federation will be able to be registered by autumn. The quicker the better, because of an increasing number of issues that we cannot cope with alone.

#### New Trade Unions, Same People

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 1-2-3 Jul 83 pp 3, 9

[Article by Maria Guzowska: "A New Union, the Same People"]

[Text] We must have a union to champion the cause of the entire workforce. No one forced nor influenced us to create it. We ourselves did the organizing. After all, new decisions regarding wages, prices and economic reform rained rampant. Was this to take place exclusive of us, without the opinion and consideration of labor?

Anyway, that is not all. You know that we had two strikes in 1980. The second was the result of a failure to implement the requests of strikers. And to date a portion of the valid demands of the workforce was not fulfilled. Who is there to champion this? The union of course. All that is valid must be implemented.

They look at me curiously: Czeslaw Bak--chairman of the Iskra trade union in Kielce; Marian Stefanski--a member of the presidium with responsibility for the social committee; Jerzy Walasek--chairman of the committee for safety and work hygienics and medical care; Andrzej Jung--secretary, and lastly Wacław Pabian--a member of the presidium who quickly explains as if he was not desirous of any insinuations: "I also established a new union. And of course I was interned..."

It Goes Uphill...

Moreover, the hill is steep and rocky. What there is to discuss here, Miss, of course you know. This is not the impulsiveness, the faith of not

fully 3 years ago when we organized Solidarity. Yes, yes... It was we indeed who organized it--Czeslaw Bak anticipates my question. But because of that it is not easier for us.

The work force was divided into three groups: 1,294 persons joined the new union. Others wait, observe, consider. Many experienced activists of the former Metalowiec union and Solidarity withdrew from all social activity whatsoever--yet they now say, not forever. Sometimes they help, advise--but only in private, amicably. For in order to do so officially and openly--no, it is forbidden.

And so there are yet those obstinate opponents to the present organization. Its founders were proclaimed traitors. No, not behind their backs--openly, loudly, at district meetings.

Mostly then, as we explained, that there should be some kind of union, because if the workforce itself will not look after its affairs then no one will stand up for it--says Jerzy Walasek. There was also a deluge of anonymous letters and abusive telephone calls. Someone slashed the tires on Czeslaw's auto; my laundry, drying on the porch was ruined; a window in Andrzej's residence was smashed.

These could not be accidental occurrences that happened just to us and just now. We know perfectly well that our previous activity gave us a vote of confidence with some colleagues for today, while with others it aroused irreconcilable hostility.

Don't you get the impression that the workforce does not want you, but you wish to make it happy on the strength of your stubborn persistence?--finally I arrive at the question that gives me no peace from the first moment that I passed through the gates of the Lozysko Toczne Factory in Kielce.

Silence fell. If we arrive at the conclusion that we will not succeed in carrying out our intentions...then we regard ourselves as unnecessary, and depart--Czeslaw Bak firmly states after a short reflection. But we must try. There are a host of problems surpassing the capabilities of the plant itself. There are also those which we must turn to the central authorities with. A meeting of the delegates of course obliges us by resolution to...

Now they are beginning to talk, one through the other, about the necessity for consistency and firmness in settling the matters undertaken, about the frankness of life in the plant--the necessity for discussion with everyone about everything. This means about working conditions and their improvement, housing, social matters, wages, production. The committees are of course thus occupied.

#### Gaining Authority

Only implementation of that to which we have been committed by the council of union delegates will permit the gradual gaining of authority and

confidence. This requires time. It is yet continuously difficult for us now, especially in suppressing reluctance and the lack of activity or even the ordinary lack of interest--Marian Stefanski explains.

And the most important topics? That for example is an increase in allowances for hazardous and dangerous work. The present allowances do not even cover medication and people here are losing their health. This can be changed by an amendment to such a now archaic collective agreement, but this cannot be decided on a plant level.

Many petitions of the work force concern general matters. They are of the opinion that annulment of regulations on some goods cannot be associated with an automatic increase in the price of those articles. They wish to create some sort of catalogue of standard merchandise--essential to maintaining a tolerable level of life. Everything to be found in it is to be protected, and hence only official prices and a good market supply. In that case, even at the expense of export.

On the basis of that catalogue, it is necessary to enumerate the minimum social and automatically increase them in the event of increased prices for articles included in it.

These are but a few examples. People think that the crisis chiefly burdens the working class. Therefore, they also want the creation of funds on the basis of tax relief in plants where wages are lower than the national average, to compensate for price increases for standard articles. They likewise demand influence on governmental decisions relating to taxes on emoluments. These are already different workers than those of several years ago. They see, observe, think and want their opinions to be reckoned with--Czeslaw Bak further adds.

And Jerzy Walasek hands me the resolution text: Please look at point nine. It does not omit anything. That tenth one is short: union management commits itself to adopt the demands of 1960 in its program of action.

Whatever was possible--was already implemented in the plant. For example, job security status was introduced, and there will be a department for that type of work. There was also established the kind of holiday and vacation reimbursement that everyone could rely on for an enjoyable vacation.

My interlocutors are concerned about the fact that implementation requires the help of central authorities. They regard as essential the creation of strong metalworkers' union representation. Already a provincial committee is being formed and conferences are being held on the subject of founding a national federation.

Without that we will be helpless--they say unanimously. Our independence will lead to this: "That we will not be able to depend on anyone." We must create conditions so that our voice will be heeded.

Right now we are far from that. Even though there is talk of discussions with the workforce, no one has indeed spoken with us on the issue of sick benefits from which fortunately the authorities have withdrawn, nor on the issue of taxes on emoluments. This leads to a strained atmosphere. Especially in our plant which found itself on the list of those most important to the national economy. Inasmuch as there are almost 6,000 of us, how is it possible to overlook us in such important discussions?

#### But With the Reserve

In the Kielce trade union, Iskra, it already became evident--in performance of course. Recently it defended two employees from disciplinary dismissal, proving their offenses were the result of dereliction of duty on the part of management toward those persons. Efforts are in evidence to aid those most in need but frequently concealing their problems.

And what response from the people? All, regardless of party affiliation, because the union strives to do for everyone what it stipulated it would.

Well, then what? Mostly they do not want to declare themselves. If they already have, they ask not to be identified by name. They are very critical.

The union? A young girl assembling insulation shrugs her shoulders. What is there to talk about here? For 5 years I asked two people in succession for hotel allowance. And to this day I travel 50 km to work. Should I sign up? For what? In order to pay dues and spend hours at meetings?

Her companion smiles ironically: "My spine hurts from sitting on an uncomfortable and rickety chair. Our requests for good chairs are in vain, even though we have ergonomics specialists in the plant. And once I fainted because the ventilation failed. If you please, the exhaust was blocked with sheet metal because water was dripping from it. No one will assist in the most trivial matters. Not to mention large problems outside the plant."

But not one has approached me--Czeslaw Bak is irritated.

"Sir, I am not even aware of your existence. One cannot hear the radio with this noise, and I will not spend hours at meetings. After all, I must travel 50 km," the younger girl remarks quietly. "Anyway why repeat the same thing again? As you can see the sun beats on my back because they begrudge us shades."

#### Fear of Echelons

A group of department supervisors momentarily gathers around us. Among them are also members of the new union. I, because of tradition. From association with Metalowiec--the next one remarks as if justifying himself.



They speak reluctantly regarding the emerging provincial units and the future federation. They say that it is nothing more than the framework of the former Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ] making a comeback. Of course it will soon occupy its building in Warsaw--someone comments ironically. Once more we will go from echelon to echelon and will not accomplish what we want anyway.

Bak again objects, explaining that without strong representation there will be no dialogue with the authorities. The best proof is that even now one thing is being said and another is being done. For example, unions are not informed about the work of government. And an accounting of the people guilty of the crisis? Complaints also against revenge and wasting of deserving people--that they lost their jobs, that they are not employed. What do you think, who will talk to the government about all this if there will be no strong federation?!--Czeslaw Bak unconsciously raises his voice.

And the employee group calms down, as if dissatisfied that despite everything, they allowed themselves to be provoked into giving a statement. We have our opinions--one finally responds. But, God be with you...God be with you...Czeslaw.

The Iskra union chairman bids me farewell with the following words: "We shall convince them with our actions. We will not yield until we become indispensable to them. Unless..." he paused for a moment.

Well of course. Will this be successful?

Two days later, Bak with several other activists leaves for Poznan in order to discuss the federation with a larger group of metal industry union representatives there.

#### Trade Unions After Six Months Development

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 1-2-3 Jul 83 p 2

[Article: "The Union Movement 6 Months Later"]

[Text] On 30 April the Social Advisory Committee convened in plenary session. The committee under the chairmanship of Prof Zbigniew Salwa, in its deliberations, reviewed sociopolitical provisions for the development of trade unions. The most important organizational and legal problems confronting the trade union movement were discussed. A preliminary draft of a weekly union publication was adopted.

The results of the course of action in building a trade union movement, that was initiated 6 months ago from the ground floor, show nearly 16,000 trade unions comprising approximately 3 million employees. Further growth of this movement and the possibilities for recruiting those undecided depends mainly on the unions themselves, on the results of their efforts undertaken in defense of the workers' interests. The authenticity and effectiveness of this work in large measure guarantees the composition of new unions. About

70-80 percent of union members are workers. Members of all former union movement trends will participate in the reconstruction of the unions.

However, the development of trade unions continues to run irregularly. In many plants, for example, in the hard coal mines or in educational and vocational centers, over 50 percent of the workforce already belongs to unions. The degree of union organizing in higher institutions of learning, in the health service and drafting offices, as well as others, is considerably less. The youth is gradually beginning to enter the unions.

Besides the boycott and sharp underground attacks, union members must overcome barriers of a bureaucratic nature, emerging from the postures of a portion of management in employment plants. Unfortunately they do not belong to the rare occurrences of disrespect for unions, nor the attempt to subordinate their administration. As Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Socioprofessional Division of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [CC PZPR] and participant in the deliberations assured, the party will react positively to all attempts to oversee unions in matters belonging to their statutory domain. Likewise committee members recognized as indispensable, a clear definition of union practices, particularly in social matters, as well as a reminder to the administration concerning them.

The necessity has developed for a clear separation in the domain of labor self-regulation and trade unions. It must be clarified also as to who will mediate disputes between self-regulation and the union.

The process of changing union organizations on a nationwide basis takes place rapidly, and perhaps sometimes too rapidly. Likewise in this matter, it occurs that the administration attempts to exert influence on decisions which are the exclusive domain of union members. Among other things, there was discussion on the suggestions of officials to create union federations within the framework of unions. However, independent of that type of absurd notion, doubts can rouse a course of action to break down individual subsectors in several or even a dozen or so supraplant structures.

On 30 April there took place in Warsaw a meeting of journalists who are occupied with problems involving union and representatives of emerging federations of trade unions.

Union members provided information concerning activities of trade unions in their communities. An exchange of opinions took place on the subject of the role, place and function of the trade movement in resolving social problems in keeping with the interests of labor workforces.

## Trade Unions Protect Workforce

Krakow ECHO KRAKOWA in Polish 1-2-3 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by bog: "Trade Unions in Cooperative Movement; It Is Easier To Defend Interests of Workforce When There Is Unity"]

[Text] Frequently cooperative movement employees reflected on whether they need a trade union, for the very fact of being already affiliated with a cooperative was somehow the union equivalent. However, following joint debates and conferences, the employees arrived at the conclusion that they need a union. Since that time, initial groups, founding committees, etc. already began to function very quickly. Currently, for example, in the Krakow Cooperative Movement Labor Union, already 17 initial groups function for 44 unionized cooperatives; in the Regional Cooperative Movement Union of Invalids--18; in the Chemix Chemical Cooperative Labor Union--2; and in the Asko Leather Industry National Cooperative Union--3 groups.

The cooperative movement, a specific sphere of our economy, are chiefly groups of small plants that do not employ many people; a good deal of all kinds of trades are active here also. Under these conditions work is very difficult for unions that cannot be partners in conferences with the administration, its own, as well as the national. And therefore, more frequent discussions have begun for the purpose of uniting shattered unions that have no opportunity to effectively defend the employees' interests into a form of united union movement that can already begin functioning.

Several days ago (27 June 1983) a meeting of representatives from the following trade unions took place in Warsaw: Labor Cooperative Movement; Cepelia Folk and Artistic Handmade Objects Cooperative; Cooperative Movement for Invalids; and Cooperative Movement for the Blind. Taking part in this meeting were cooperative representatives from practically the entire country. And there likewise was talk of uniting together as soon as possible. There, also the Organizational Committee on Matters of Creating a National Structure for Trade Union Cooperatives was called into being. This committee then appointed an executive committee from its midst which was joined by the representatives from all cooperative movement branches. Almost at once the committee began to function, directing among other things, a reply to cooperative movement workers throughout all of Poland.

Yesterday, at the headquarters of the Krakow Cooperative Movement Labor Union, a meeting with the representatives of the founding committees, as well as initial groups took place, being a continuation of the idea of mutual union activity. During the discussion a decision was unanimously adopted to appoint a committee to be composed of union representatives, as well as Asko, Chemix, the Krakow Labor Union Cooperative Movement, and the Regional Cooperative Movement Union for Invalids. It was also acknowledged that the best structure for the proper functioning of the union will be the supraplant. A seven-person committee selected Teofil Wilczek as chairman. Three individuals were likewise selected who will represent the Krakow cooperative community in Warsaw.

## Half-Year Activities of Trade Unions

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 5 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Three Million Members--16,000 Organizations; One-Half Year of Union Movement Activity"]

[Text] Warsaw, PAP. In the half-year following the coming into being of the statute on trade unions, the union movement mustered about 3 million working people in Poland in more than 16,000 plant organizations. In 90 percent of enterprises, in which consistent with the statute, unions are permitted to start up and function, registered organizations or groups and founding committees already exist.

The process of reactivating the trade movement proceeds slowly, tediously but systematically. Every month 300,000 to 400,000 employees apply for membership in new union organizations. However, many of those employed still react with a large dose of mistrust and reluctance toward the idea of reconstructing union structures. Despite that, trade unions already function in all large employment plants, mines, foundries, etc. As the news from PAP journalists indicates, plant union activists in a limited number of cases are in favor of instituting general nationwide federations that would represent the interests of working people of a given trade or production department. Let us remember that, among others, the Federation of Metalworkers has started up already and was registered.

Communication employees likewise wish to form a Federation of Trade Unions. This was discussed recently in the large Telkom-Teletra Telecommunications Engineering Equipment and Assemblies Works in Poznan. At the meeting, union members emphasized that the formation of a supraplant structure will make it possible to better defend the interests of working people.

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WEEKLY CITES DATA ON PRACTICE OF CATHOLICISM

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 27, 3 Jul 83 p 7

[Article by Krystyna Darczewska: "What Catholicism Is Like in Poland"]

[Text] The question regarding a model of Polish Catholicism arises along with questions regarding other national traits of Poles that have been discussed for years in the columns of Polish newspapers and on the pages of Polish books. The vicissitudes of our nation, its many years of bondage and the menace to the state's existence, promoted questions of this type more frequently in Poland than in other countries. Reflecting on whether we are industrious or lazy, self-sacrificing or selfish, judicious or irresponsible pertains today to the average citizen in today's crisis and the ongoing fracturing of the national commonwealth.

Among the questions regarding our traits, the question arises about the religiousness of the Poles and their Catholicism.

According to the declarations of the individuals (from 25 to 65 years old) included in a sociological study at the end of the 1970s, 97 percent of the population had a Catholic upbringing.\* People who declared themselves to be nonbelievers or undecided did not in most cases inherit atheism as a result of family upbringing; instead they developed their outlook on life during the course of their own life experiences.

Thus, more than one-third of the respondents changed their attitudes toward religion in the course of their lifetime. Twenty-nine percent of the population was less believing, 5.4 percent more believing and 63.8 percent did not change their attitude toward religion.

According to research conducted in the past several years, identification with the church has increased in our country.

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\*The basis of the above considerations are the results of sociological research conducted on a representative, nationwide random sample of Poland's population in the 25-65 age bracket. The research was conducted at the end of 1977 and beginning of 1978.



Religious practices and material aid to the church are the primary forms of manifesting ties with religion and the church.

Here we examine four types of religious practices that are frequently and regularly exercised. Three of the practices are organized systematically by the church: the mass, communion and afternoon services or private prayers. Participation in church celebrations of a solemn and manifestive nature are treated separately, such as the Corpus Christi procession, church fairs, pilgrimages, celebrations associated with visits of church dignitaries and the solemn transfer of the portrait of the Mother of God to private homes or to a parish church (a religious practice in existence in Poland for barely several years). As an illustration, the requirement to attend mass at least once a week on Sundays and holidays is fulfilled by 49.7 percent of the respondents, and the duty to receive communion at least once a year is observed by 66.1 percent of the respondents.

During the second half of the 1970s, 18.2 percent of those queried did not pray at home, 9.8 percent did not attend mass, 15.4 percent did not receive communion and 50 percent did not attend afternoon services.

Mass participation in celebrations of a public, demonstrative nature was a characteristic of the late 1970s. About 75.1 percent participated in Corpus Christi processions, 55.7 percent in church fairs, 12.5 percent in pilgrimages and 45.6 percent in celebrations related to visits by church dignitaries.

The meetings with Pope John Paul II during his first pilgrimage to Poland requires a separate discussion. The growth in this form of manifestation of Catholicism was initiated by the interest in his visit and the mass participation of the public. Participation in rites of an external, festive and manifestive nature increased further in the 1980s. Along with this, it should be noted that the faithful of all classes participated en masse with the faithful having higher educations in some solemn occasions, for example, Corpus Christi processions. Individuals that are religiously indifferent also participated in the celebrations.

Participation in Sunday mass is the most widely observed religious practice. The divergence between participation in services organized in church and the number of individuals praying in private (fewer people pray privately than attend mass and receive communion) is a very characteristic trait of Polish religiousness. Above all it is based on the traditional, cultural and public expression of religion, but its intellectual and ideological spheres are very limited.

From the quantitative viewpoint, another significant form of bonds with religion and the church is the material contributions to the church. In all, 88.6 percent of the people said that they contributed money to the church, and 14.9 percent contributed other than money, such as church work and the like. The most common form of money aid is contributions to the collection plate during church services. Up to 82 percent of the people made such contributions. The second most popular form of money

contributions (neglecting payments for marriages, baptisms and funerals since they do not apply to the entire population) is the so-called "Koleda," that is, the custom wherein priests of the local parish visit their parishioners in their homes after the Christmas and New Year holidays, during the carnival season. On these occasions, 69.8 percent of the respondents made offerings. It appears that even nonbelievers make the traditional offering when a priest visits their home. Over the 5-year period, 7.8 percent of the nonbelievers made such offerings. Other church offerings include collections for church investments and other purposes, money from tourists visiting churches, and donations from baptisms, weddings and funerals, and having services performed in church.

The number of individuals who declare that they contribute to the church in one way or another agrees with the number who attend--even very rarely--church services. Thus it can be concluded that anyone having ties with the church, even very loose ties, contributes one way or another to the church.

As mentioned above, participation in religious practices organized by the church are the primary forms of bonds between our people and the church and religion. Religion, the church and the clergy are at diametrically opposite extremes as moral authorities for adults and their personal problems. A substantial portion of the respondents view positively the role of the clergy in shaping the principles for everyday morality, such as: do not steal, honor your parents and so forth, but a smaller percentage of the respondents (29.5 percent) view this role positively when it concerns upbringing of youth. But in their replies to the question regarding moral authorities for adults, 61.7 percent state that adults should not rely on authorities; the remainder (barely 2.6 percent) named authorities associated with religion and the church such as the Bible, the church, the clergy and the like. People's declarations are not always identical with their behavior. But their declarations most certainly prove that religious authorities occupy a very low place in the socially postulated model.

The catechization of children and the sermons delivered during Sunday services are the primary sources of religious information and knowledge about church life.

The number of years of religious instructions received varies considerably. Among school-age children from 1 to 5 years old, 29.4 percent took religious lessons; from 5 to 7 years--10.3 percent; for 7-year olds--35.8 percent; from 8 to 12 years--25.4 percent. Only 0.4 percent never took religious lessons by the time they were 12 years old.

There also are many forms of religious training for adults that are organized by the church. They are functions of a propaganda and informational nature; they provide instructions in religious ideology and the tenets of faith. They include various types of recollections and conferences designed for specific categories of listeners. In the past 5 years, 62.1 percent of the respondents participated in such functions. About 45.7 percent acknowledged personal interest in religion. In the past 5 years, 56.9 percent participated in recollections, 35.5 percent in

missions, 1.4 percent in religious conferences, 27 percent in instructions for parents, 21.8 percent read religious literature, 30.2 percent discussed religion with their families and 20.7 percent with their acquaintances.

The character of individual religious training based on discussing religious matters and the church within the family and among acquaintances as well as reading religious literature varies considerably. From the literature of philosophical works to prayer books. Also, the content of conversations on religion and the church can deviate greatly from the religious or moral content of Catholicism.

Obtaining information that is critical of religion and the church is another aspect of interest in religion.

Individuals have encountered comments that are critical of religion and the church in discussions with acquaintances in 20.8 percent of the cases; in literature--10.7 percent; in the army--4.5 percent (the population encompasses 47.9 percent of the men); on TV and on the radio and in the movies--7.5 percent; at meetings of political and social organizations--6.3 percent; in the family home--4.8 percent; from representatives of other faiths--4.8 percent; at lectures--4.5 percent; and in school--3.8 percent.

All told, barely 43 percent of the respondents heard critical comments about religion and the church. Discussions with acquaintances was the primary source of critical comments. The most criticisms, mentioned by 48.3 percent of the respondents, concerned priests and church institutions. The essence of religious doctrine was criticized by 21.2 percent of the respondents. Worthy of special attention is the fact that a substantial percentage of the individuals (4.8 percent of the entire population) said that representatives of other sects were repeatedly the only source of comments critical of Catholicism.

As can be seen, the perception of comments deemed to be critical of religion and the church was extremely small. Concerning priests and church institutions, 18.3 percent of the group questioned were critical; the contents of religious doctrines--11.2 percent; the usefulness of religion in life--3.2 percent; criticism of rites (innovations)--1.2 percent; comments from other sects--4.8 percent; and other matters--5.2 percent.

One interesting fact is that the most frequently mentioned comment critical of Catholicism relates to 19th-century critics of religion and the church; on the other hand, the problems of the modern church and the essence of the polemics of modern philosophers and theologians are mentioned least.

The church has many forms of transmitting information on religion and its modern problems. Some of the forms are obligatory for Catholics. The degrees of perception of their content, however, are disproportionally small. After Vatican Council II, for example, 0.9 percent of the respondents said that no changes were observed in the church; 58.7 percent said changes occurred only in the rites; 2.4 percent said changes occurred only in the church's ideology and tactics; and 37.9 percent said changes occurred in the rites as well as in the ideology or tactics of the church.

The results of the above show that 59.8 percent of the respondents believe that no commendable changes occurred within the church nor are they aware of any new tactics relative to nonbelievers and non-Catholic believers. It should be noted that 13.3 percent believed changes occurred in the church relative to non-Catholic believers, and 14.6 percent believed changes occurred relative to nonbelievers.

According to the results of monographic investigations, in our own society there is very little knowledge even about the most basic Catholic dogmas. Less than 60 percent knew correctly who Christ was; 34 to 61 percent could name the sacraments; and 36 to 71 percent knew about the fate of souls after death. In comparison with the scope of the church's influence, the effects are disproportionately small. Only a small percentage of Poles are interested in the essence of their acknowledged faith. Above all, Catholicism is an instrument for satisfying social needs, mainly in the microstructures, especially in the family.

Thus, as noted by all researchers on this subject, Polish Catholicism is superficial with little intellectual depth. It is characterized by faint knowledge of the essence of the faith. However, it is an integral part of the culture and lifestyle and as such exhibits much durability. It represents an intergenerational bond that remains relatively stable in our country.

It appears that in relation to our society, the changes relative to religion--the process of secularization as well as increased religiousness--should be associated not only with the social changes taking place in the economy but also with the changes in the patterns of culture and types of social bonds; this concerns participation in microstructures and the durability of intergenerational bonds.

Societies that are predominantly of one faith do not create bonds that are as strong as those of the minority faiths or those of multifaith societies.

Bonds between different parishes are weak in rural as well as urban areas (for example, when the poll concerning social bonds was taken, not one respondent considered his parishioners to be close friends). Also, representatives of the same religion do not appear to be close friends. The parish institution is treated more like an institution that performs certain services for society. Close and frequent contact with parish representatives results from this. Contribution to the church is treated as a natural thing. In the rural areas it is similar to such institutions as the school, the fire department, the house of culture or a medical clinic. The residents feel obligated to contribute to these institutions so that they can be maintained and perform their functions properly. The people eagerly undertake joint social efforts to create these institutions and to maintain them at the proper level. Undertaking a joint effort to build a church or the erection in place of a new parish brings forth many initiatives and gratuitous offerings by the people. The construction of new church buildings, often erected in the past without the permission of the administrative authorities, created a singular solidarity and

sacrifice that vanished after the construction was completed, similar to the cases of other investments initiated from below. Thus it is of a short-term, joint-venture nature, similar to chance catastrophes, for example, during local cataclysms such as a flood or fire. The communal character of a parish, especially a rural parish, that had been emphasized by many investigators has not been corroborated in light of the conducted investigations.

Religion, including the parish as its institution, creates social bonds that are based on the profession of a common faith only to a small degree. However, it cannot be denied that in specific situations it is a factor for social integration. Its role in society as a whole grew during periods of social and economic crises that were associated with mass increases in stress.

We have observed such phenomena in various socialist countries. Religiousness increased in Poland after 1956. The results of various sociological polls conducted in the 1970s make it possible to state that with the rise of the economic crisis during the second half of the 1970s, the number of pro-religion attitudes increased and reached its apogee with the election of a Polish cardinal to the papacy and during the 1980 crisis.

Under Polish conditions, the errors in economic and social policies that affected the people's living standards and that generated the feeling that social aspirations would not be satisfied, quickly created a feeling of helplessness and injustice.

A manifestation of external religiousness was not always fully realized as a concrete protest.

The church's influence on religious attitudes is greater in Poland than in the other European countries. This is linked obviously with the fulfillment by the church of a cult function which the public considers to be very important. Limiting Polish religiousness exclusively to superficial attachments to ritual and even to cultural tradition would be a simplification. The church as a social force in our country should also be mentioned. In contrast to the capitalist countries, the church has no political party in Poland, and it controls a very limited number of schools and shelters.

The church did not formally participate in the government, but by its opposition it greatly influenced political moves in the country. The church itself did not implement social policies, and thus it is not burdened by accusations that it distributed housing unjustly, that it established wages that were inconsistent with work output and so forth. Thus it was not burdened by public ill will and responsibilities to society. In the minds of the young generation of Poles, the church is viewed primarily as the bearer of moral tasks, as the organizer of colorful ceremonies, and often as the only organized opposition to the government that is burdened with committed errors.



The pope's visit to our country furthers manifestations of religious feelings combined with Catholic pride that a Pole occupies the throne of Peter for the first time. It is expected that identification with Catholicism will increase in our country as a result of the visits. It will also be a time of trial for Polish Catholicism. The question arises: Will the religious passions that are now outmoded promote in the future the growth of Christian humanistic values such as cherishing peace, recognizing the exalted dignity of work and ecumenical openness toward others? Will it help Poles to unite and persevere? Or, on the contrary, will Polish Catholics draw even closer to the old, dogmatic traditions?

11899

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#### DEPUTY CALLS FOR REHIRING FIRED WORKERS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30-31 Jul 83 p 3

[Text of speech delivered by Janusz Zablocki, member of the PZKS Deputies Circle, at the 21 July Sejm session (authorized abridged version): "A Change Not Only of Legal Status"]

[Text] Martial law in Poland is coming to an end. When on 25 January 1982 the Sejm convened for its first session under martial law, we said, in the speech of our PZKS [Polish Catholic Social Union] deputies' circle representative:

"Martial law, as we have to realize, has its unavoidable price. What is characteristic of that price is that we do not and cannot know its final amount. What we do know is the part of the price that we have paid so far. But we still don't know how much of that price we will have to pay yet."

We said all that, believing that it was our moral duty to express that deep concern about the future that preyed upon the whole Polish population at that time. Today the period of martial law is nearing the end and its price, unknown at that time, is possible to be totaled up. It is possible to make a first tentative evaluation of the results. And this same requirement of truth makes us say today that the subsequent events in our country did not confirm great part of concerns of those days. The global cost of the martial law period is certainly not insignificant, and its most painful component was shedding Polish blood, each drop of which is precious and much regretted. But on the whole, considering how strong social tension was as well as the threat of fratricidal fighting, fortunately this cost did not turn out to be as high as one could fear then, at the beginning. We can say it today with much relief.

Such a course of martial law in Poland is due to various factors. Polish society, and the working class in the first place, relatively quickly recovered from the shock caused by the imposition of martial law, and even without accepting it, knew as a whole how to resist attempts to implicate them in rowdyish actions. Polish Church deserves great credit for that, with its appeals for caution and responsibility addressed to the nation. But the fact that martial law took a relatively quiet course was due largely to the attitude of the authorities themselves, to the political

course outlined from the beginning by General Jaruzelski. Receiving emergency powers, as history teaches us, is always for the rulers a big temptation to abuse them. It is, then, a time of great testing. Now that this time is over one has to say that our state leaders headed by General Jaruzelski will go down in history as leaders who, aware of the requirements of the basic national interest, were able to submit the severity proper to the logic of martial law to a wise self-limitation. Of all the emergency powers granted by the martial law decrees they used only those they considered absolutely indispensable; they knew how to restrain themselves from expanding the scope of repression, and for many people who had infringed the law they created an opportunity to come back to their normal lives. They knew how to reject the principle of retaliation. And even if not everywhere it was possible to avert reprisals, even if, in various forms, they were made, at least they did not spread on a large scale after 13 December, which after all could have easily happened. Declaring war on anarchy, the martial law authorities knew also how to prevent the reforms of the economy and body politic from stopping, and they adopted a policy of pursuing them constantly.

It is for the reasons of integrity that this opinion has to be expressed just by us, the PZKS deputies, who in the past months so many times took in various matters positions critical of the government, and who are not going to waive our right of criticism in the future either. Those reasons make us express this opinion just now, when unfortunately, the truth is so often distorted by an extreme lack of objectivism and by ill will.

Two legal documents are strictly connected with the lifting of martial law. They are: the law on special legal regulation during the period of overcoming the social and economic crisis, and the law on altering some laws, as well as the amnesty law.

The draft of the first of these laws, as received by the deputies, gave rise to much controversy and reservations, shared also by our circle. Also the primate of Poland came out with critical remarks in his letter to the Sejm. One could understand that the government, while renouncing its exceptional powers granted by the martial law legislature, and deciding to lift martial law in conditions of still not complete normalization in economic, social and political life, had to take into consideration certain risks, and wanted to reduce them with special legal regulations for a transitional period. One could have also understood that the government considered accepting such regulations as some sort of condition of lifting martial law.

But what had to be discussed was both the scope of the special regulations put forward in the first version of the special regulations' draft, and, above all, the fact that some of them were supposed to become not of transitional but of permanent nature, assuming thus, as it were, the nature of a model. Therefore, the representatives of our circle argued in the [Sejm] commissions that possible alterations of the laws, if necessary, be investigated and settled in the normal legislative procedure, by amending these laws and not on the occasion of [passing] the law on the special regulation for the times of crisis.

We must say with satisfaction that the final draft of the law, submitted today to the Sejm in its new version, reshaped and abridged, complied to a high degree with the tabled motions and reservations, acceding to them. The present draft does not include the large majority of permanent regulations proposed before. It is limited chiefly to the extended powers of preventive nature conferred on the government for a transitional period until the end of 1985. Among those going farthest of all are the powers referring to the law on university education and to the law on associations. In their explanations, given to the commissions, the respective ministers emphasized that they would take advantage of these powers only sporadically, in cases justified by an absolute necessity. We will take them at their word. (...)

The second item under examination today is the amnesty law. It meets demands of many circles and expectations of the public at large. The Polish episcopate has been demanding the amnesty for a long time now. This request was reiterated in the Sejm by the PZKS deputies' circle. As early as last November the Initiating Committee of the TRK PRON called for starting the work on the amnesty. One can obviously discuss the contents of the amnesty law, the scope and the contents of its provisions. Nevertheless, even in the version submitted to the Sejm, the amnesty law has its undeniable value and cannot be underestimated.

We see the value of this law not only in the fact that following its implementation a considerable number of those convicted and in hiding will return to their families, jobs and normal lives although, of course, this is also important. We see in this law a crucial, substantial contribution to the creation of a new social climate Poland needs after the lifting of martial law.

Actions in this direction are probably not exhausted by the amnesty law itself. It does not solve, for example, the problem of the extrajudicial sanctions inflicted upon many people for violating martial law regulations. I am talking about the expulsions of [university] students, in accordance with the clause number 3 of decree number 189 of the Council of Ministers of 30 August 1982; about the expulsions of students from [lower] schools, in accordance with the departmental instructions of the minister of education and upbringing, as well as about the dismissals based on the article number 5 of the law of 18 December 1982.

If, with the amnesty law, we are deciding to reverse the sentences of those convicted of much more serious offenses, if we are deciding not to prosecute the underground activists coming out of hiding, it would be illogical and contradictory to justice if painful consequences had still to be borne by those who infringed the law to a much lesser degree, for the most part young, unexperienced people, acting under the influence of emotions. All the more so as the decisions made in their cases by the organs of administration, as opposed to the court verdicts, were made very often hurriedly and are doubtful. We call therefore upon the Council of Ministers to issue a decree that would assure the possibility of a return to high schools and universities for the students expelled on the grounds of violating martial

law decree regulations, as well as the possibility of a return to their jobs for those fired on the same grounds.

It is also necessary to abandon completely, wherever such cases still occur, the ostracism and discrimination of people who used to be Solidarity members. During the PRON Congress, General Jaruzelski formulated an important sentence: "The basic criterion for the evaluation of a citizen is his present attitude and his participation in the effort[s] of the whole society." It is necessary for this principle to bind everybody and to be consistently fulfilled in every cell of the system, on every level of the state administration.(...)

The point is that the lifting of martial law should be not only a change of the legal status but a real turning point in our country's life, resumption of a real social dialogue. It should be felt and understood generally, both by the government and by the people, as the acknowledgement of the closing of the existing accounts and starting mutual relations anew. The lifting of martial law should prompt everywhere an eagerness to overcome existing divisions and traumas, and to forgive each other, an eagerness after a national reconciliation and an increase of mutual trust and social peace. Only on such a moral base can a solid national agreement develop, a real cooperation of all Poles, which is our only chance and our only way to restore our country.

12471

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INSTITUTE FOR POLONIA RESEARCH ANALYZED

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 6 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with Prof Wladyslaw Miodunka, head of the Jagellonian University Institute for Polonia Research, by Grazyna Starzak: "Helping Polish Culture Abroad"]

[Text] [Question] Yours, Professor, is not the only center for research on the Polish communities abroad. Was it really necessary to create a separate institute for that purpose, if scholars of Polish studies, sociologists and ethnographers have been busy with that kind of problems for a long time now?

[Answer] Sociologists and historians have been busy with Polonia but those matters played a secondary role in their scholarly interests. Establishing the institute made Polonia problems uppermost, allowed to concentrate research, and in turn, extended Polonia research so as to include a new comparative aspect, because when you make a research on Polish ethnic groups in the countries of their settlement you compare them with other communities in order to show what is typical of, for instance, Polish emigrants, and also what is common to all emigrants.

Our scientific and educational accomplishments strongly supported the case for the institute. Here become integrated the studies on Polonia, which, as every ethnic community, has its internal structure, history, changing culture and customs. Prof H. Kubiak and the late rector of the Jagellonian University, Prof M. Karas, were then right to have created in 1976 the Institute for Polonia Research.

[Question] The institute you run is known mostly because of the Summer School of Polish Culture and Language which has been organized regularly since 1970. Hasn't this quasi-institution eclipsed your educational and research work? A question follows if we really need a scientific study of Polonia.

[Answer] The Summer School is known to a larger public, because for the journalists it makes nice and easy news in the summertime. It does not mean that other spheres of our activity are less interesting only because they are not noticed by the journalists. Besides, I think that among

scientific writings there may also occur books which will interest readers from outside the narrow circle of specialists. The success of the [book] "Lvov's Polish" by Prof Zofia Kurzowa, who takes part in the Polonia research, is very optimistic. I think that the "Dictionary of Polish Writers Abroad," which we are now preparing, will also be some sort of event.

Do we really need a scientific study of Polonia? I believe so, if even only in order to dispel the many stereotypical images about Polonia and misunderstandings about emigration and reemigration. For example: it is commonly believed that the Poles abroad have their Polish character, as it were, in their blood, and that they know and use the language of their fathers. Still this is just one of the existing stereotypes, as Polish ethnic groups, just like all others, are in the process of being assimilated, which means they abandon Polish language and culture. Knowing which are the elements that the emigrants renounce allows us to work out a program of the work with Polonia and for Polonia, a program aimed at preserving Polish language and culture abroad.

[Question] What could you say about Polonians, based on your own observations...?

[Answer] I lived for about 4 years in Toulouse, France, and I taught Polish at the university there. I had an opportunity to ascertain that in the mentality of Poles living in Poland there are many myths about how easy it is to live abroad. Yet, apart from the living hardships, many Poles abroad experience a cultural shock, as they face a new society, its culture and language. Most people become gradually assimilated, yet they preserve their knowledge about the Polish culture or at least their fondness of it.

Obviously, in subsequent generations the bonds with Poland become, as a rule, more and more loose, although even here there happen exceptions that a teacher of Polish in France or in the United States comes across.

[Question] Did you have the opportunity to watch the so-called new wave of Polish emigration?

[Answer] In 1981 I was in America, in Detroit. Quite a lot of young people came there at that time. Some of them (technicians of narrow specializations, qualified workers) would enter the job market relatively fast. But not all of them were able to find a place for themselves in a society new to them, and the most difficult for those people was the language barrier. A Pole in the American environment becomes sometimes an intruder who has to adjust his way and style of life to the new community. Hence stresses and breakdowns.

[Question] In 1979, in due setting, the foundation stone was laid under the Polonia House in Przegorzaly, named after [Kazimierz] Pulaski. The intention of its designers and of those who conceived the idea was to build a host house which would receive Polish guests from abroad. How long is that home going to remain merely a project yet?

[Answer] There was a time when the Polonia College in Przegorzaly had a so-called good press whereas not much was going on there. Now, instead, it has a bad press, while the work has not only started but is proceeding according to the new schedule. Good building contractors are now working on the project (especially well is working the Budopol's team). Thanks to them one can see from the distance what is going on in Przegorzaly: there is a new roof on the old buildings and a crane by the new ones. By next fall it will be already possible to say that a considerable part of the work has been completed in the old and new parts, however it will be more evident in the new one, as the Polonia students' hostel's wing will be certainly ready in unfinished state. The whole should be ready by 1988.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12471

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SCHOLAR VIEWS PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARD SELF-GOVERNMENT

Warsaw TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY in Polish No 22, 29 May 83 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Prof Dr Leszek Gilejka by Bogumil Holda; time and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Professor, what induced you--a philosopher, sociologist and scientist investigating social phenomena--to get involved with the problem of worker self-government? What is the particular background of these interests?

[Answer] I head the Department of Sociology and Social Policies at the SGPiS [Main School of Planning and Statistics], and I direct the Department of Socioeconomic Policies at the PZPR Central Committee's Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism. It can be said that many important matters are interlocked in worker self-government which is now being realized in our country and which is basic social stratum for economic reform, assuring working people of increased participation in administration and management. Worker self-government also represents a concrete embodiment of one of the pillars of the organization of a socialist enterprise. The voices of workcrews and the opinions of workers will have a greater and greater influence on the fate of the factories and country, more or less dealing effectively with problems and organizing Poland in accordance with the socialist renewal.

I believe that the importance of worker self-government in modern national transformations is not always appreciated, and its future prospects are not always comprehended.

In 1956, as a freshly baked doctor, a SGPiS lecturer, I started research on the working class and the then-existing worker councils. At the IGS [Institute of the Nation's Economy] I was brought into contact with admirable people, including many coworkers of Ludwik Krzywicki.

The post-October (1956) idea concerning worker self-government was fascinating, but its implementation quickly ran into many obstacles and inconsistencies. The work of some scientists presented almost the whole truth. I recall how in the 1970s we did extensive research on the sociopolitical consciousness of worker in large enterprises. The criticisms of the

then-existing worker-representative organs were unequivocal; their formalism, ornamental facade and ossifications were criticized. Bitter comments were also directed at the party itself and at social organizations. During this general criticism, worker self-government emerged best of all! We presented the results of our work and research to a scientific conference and to the then-existing PZPR Central Committee Organization Department. Unfortunately, nothing came of them. On the contrary, worker self-government, in the form of the KSR [Workers' Self-Government Conference] was deprived of the remnants of autonomy and authenticity.

[Question] How does a scholar feel when his work is hidden somewhere in far-off drawers, absolutely useless?

[Answer] This is certainly a moral problem and, of course, a prevalent frame of mind. One can select one of several paths of action: do no more on the "perilous" or "difficult" subject matter; self-denyingly conduct further research with a certain amount of hope but full awareness of the risks, but this at time implies conformism; go over to the social or intellectual opposition, which is difficult to endorse, especially if one is a member of the ruling party; and finally there is the possibility of parting with one's scientific ideals and surrendering to a superior, ancillary goal, which many opportunists have done and who were later called "courtiers."

I have always taken the second path, and as a result I often found myself at the limits of faith in myself. My close colleagues and friends with whom I collaborated, such as Prof Jozef Balcerak, turned out to be more radical. Who will life and history judge to be right? In reply, I defend my positions. However, the concern here is not only about continuing to work but also about the ability to work for changes. One must not be blind to reality; criticism must be creative, and this implies the fulfillment of specific conditions in a given time...

I admit, however, that at times I had doubts. Perhaps in certain situations radical positions are much more effective. Without radical occurrences changes would not be possible in the future, as shown by the Polish crises and August 1980.

The social and political mechanisms now being set in motion, the development of socialist democracy and genuine people's rule can probably be the most effective protection against degeneration when there is insufficient socialism in socialism, which leads to the mentioned dilemma and outbreak. Worker self-government is one of the guarantors of renewal and change that will result in working people becoming true comanagers of the national wealth and of their country, and who will think and work for themselves and with one another.

[Question] This transfer of authority, Professor, is not happening without many obstacles and difficulties from many sides. At times one must persuade, plead and even dispel fears for a long time...



[Answer] We conducted investigations--as we called it--on opinions about worker self-government. We polled almost 1,700 workers in 10 industrial enterprises and 4 PGRs [State Farms] who were selected at random from a representative sample of workers. Among others, we polled the workers at the Starachowice FSC [Truck Factory], the Chorzow Nitrogen Plants, the Swarzedzki Furniture Factory, the Warski Shipyard, the Widzewski Cotton Mills and the PGRs in Bartoszyce and Zagania. An analysis of the obtained answers indicates that their situation is similar to the one that prevailed in 1956. The workers favored self-government very strongly. They see and emphasize the need for its existence, its operation. But there are also important differences: in 1956 and above all just after 1980, we did not have to deal with such currently strong feelings of apathy.

We have a paradox: of course worker self-government is supported; there is a torrent of "yes" votes, but at the same time one notes an unwillingness to participate in self-government. It is obvious that there is ignorance about what a self-government should do and how. Confusing the function of self-government with the role of trade unions is quite common.

Research shows that most respondents want to be governed well. A strong need for just, efficient management and government is showing up more sharply in the presence of psychological suffering and great expectations.

Characteristically, the most frequent reply received to the question regarding the primary duties of worker self-government is that it should be concerned about assuring good work organization. This means that good work organization is difficult and still lacking, and that the authorities should guarantee good work organization at all levels to produce more better and properly.

[Question] The opinions that you have collected tally in general with those that journalists hear. How can the indifference and insensibility be overcome so that--let us say--the scepter of democratic rule did not become merely window dressing, an empty symbol?

[Answer] Above all it is a question of society's general conviction that there is a "historical necessity" to place matters in workers' hands. It is a very difficult question considering the present state of society's attitudes: the large areas of indifference, the lack of trust, and the still-existing group of conflicts and pressures, though not as spectacular as it was. Pacification is slowly occurring, and change in the social climate is proceeding favorably.

In the latest research conducted over 2 months ago, a significant number of individuals stated that they see signs the crisis is abating. And thus there is visible progress, however distant from the widespread expectations. This in turn reinforces confidence in those institutions that were created to represent workcrews, to represent above all self-government.

However, there is a very delicate point: worker self-government must be maintained in the form framed in the September 1981 statute. At times we

hear the exhortation to change these legal regulations. I believe that this would be unwise, even harmful. The party must continue to resist pressures from some of the aktiv and other circles entertaining various fears concerning worker self-government. In my opinion, this is one of the fundamental tests for the party and at the same time a reaffirmation of its will to implement the political line formulated by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress.

In 1958, in the process of making changes and adjustments and creating the KSRs, a big error was made--as was obvious later--which was one of the main reasons for the collapse later on of self-government, which in fact ceased to be self-government. And this, of course, happened barely 2 years after the worker councils came into being. One should learn from old mistakes so as not to commit new ones.

Finally, another important matter: a worker self-government should take energetic actions that would be compatible with the basic needs of the community. The concern here is not only about obtaining the approval of the workers for these actions but also to inspire them to undertake additional actions.

Under present circumstances, worker self-government is very important as an instrument of social pressure to realize the economic reform; without worker self-government and its resolute support, the economic reform will always be in danger. The concern here is about a realized reform and not, as happened in the past, that it be the subject of historical studies. The inclination to act in traditional ways is at times irresistible, which to some extent is excused by economic customs and psychological events that can impel a counteroffensive on its own. Self-government--I will say without exaggeration--can actually invigorate the renewal process and needed social and economic changes.

[Question] At the Institute for Basic Studies of Marxism-Leninism, your department organizes symposia and seminars devoted to worker self-government. What can be said about the desired effects and practical results; in other words how can one get from a humanistic, economic idea to realized industry?

[Answer] By being a reasonable, realistic optimist: the research, conferences and meetings are proof that an intellectual base has arisen that supports the creation and operation of worker self-government, and it is significant that it is a party base. Worker communities, especially in large enterprise, are exchanging experiences. These exchanges permit specialists as well as welfare workers to submit intricate, complicated questions for joint discussions and judgments, which would then simplify the work of various centers and organs: the Sejm Commission for Worker Self-Management Affairs, the Plenipotentiary of the Government for Economic Reform, the Central Committee departments, especially the Economic, Socio-professional and Organization Departments.

In this way the path to implementing in practice an espoused social idea is cleared, which on its own would not be "decreed" or receive declared support. Events manifest themselves in the reality of their complexity and with many conditions. It should be emphasized that protecting the autonomy of worker self-governments is a fundamental problem.

[Question] Professor, many self-governments have majorities consisting of engineers, technicians and master craftsmen. One often hears the opinion that they include few "plain workers," even though the elections were very democratic. As can be seen, much is expected of the intellectual community, but do not these facts mask a certain danger, especially in conflicting, difficult situations when it will be necessary at times to choose between opposing interests? Will not the complaint: Who rules the workers? arise more often at such times?

[Answer] This problem has its own history and justifications. The same thing happened with the worker councils and during the 1981 worker self-government elections. Now a similar phenomenon is occurring. Those elected most frequently are the professionals: engineers, technicians, economists or highly qualified workers. Their representation in the mentioned organs is disproportionally greater than their numbers in the workforce. As indicated by our research, the just conviction prevails in the industrial community that participation in management requires much professional knowledge whose promulgation--as can be seen--is worth considering.

Another aspect of the problem is the functioning of worker councils under the rigid control of the workers. The statute creates extensive opportunities for general meetings of workers, and in certain cases the call for a referendum is possible to decide an issue as democratically as possible and with the greatest participation.

In my opinion, the situation in the trade unions, which have a distinct class aspect, will also have a large influence on what is happening and on what will happen in worker self-government. Worker interests are indivisible. It is difficult not to visualize a connection between the fate of worker self-government and the crystallization and development of the trade union movement.

[Question] Thank you very much for the interview. Please consider TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY to be an ally and friend of worker self-government and the well conceived interests of working people.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF PZPR PROVINCIAL FIRST SECRETARIES

## Bialystok First Secretary Kolodziejuk

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 12 Apr 83 p 1

[Text] Wlodzimierz Kolodziejuk was born on 28 March 1937, in Rogawka, Bialystok voivodship, to a peasant family; he has been a PZPR member since 1968. He holds a master's degree in water resources development engineering and is a graduate of the Agricultural University of Warsaw [SGGW]. Upon completion of his studies, Wlodzimierz Kolodziejuk began work in the Biebrza Scientific Research Institute, where he rose to the position of senior research assistant. From 1965 to 1968 he was director of the State Water Resources Development Inspectorate in Grajewo. In 1968 he was transferred to the position of section director in the Bialystok Voivodship Water Resources Development Administration, of which he was director from 1973 to 1975. From 1975 to 1980 he was director of the Bialystok Voivodship Agricultural Investments Administration. Over the course of several years, Wlodzimierz Kolodziejuk has fulfilled many social functions, i.e. chairman of the Bialystok Voivodship Branch Council of the Chief Technical Organization [NOT]. He has been secretary of the Bialystok PZPR Voivodship Committee since 1 January 1981, and was a delegate to the Ninth PZPR Congress.

## Konin First Secretary Ciupa

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 15, 20 Jul 83 p 4

[Text] Lech Ciupa, first secretary of the Konin PZPR Voivodship Committee, is 43 years old and has been a member of the PZPR since 1963. He holds the title of doctor of economic sciences. During the 1960's he was a youth activist, belonging to the Polish Students Association [ZSP] and the Union of Socialist Youth [ZMS] at the Higher School of Economics in Poznan, and subsequently in Kolo. From 1968 to 1971 he was employed at the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Poznan; later on he completed the graduate program at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow. Upon his return he occupied the position of deputy director of the Organizational Department of the Poznan PZPR Voivodship Committee. From 1975 to 1980 Lech Ciupa was PZPR Voivodship Committee secretary in Konin, and subsequently, until October 1980, he was advisor to Poland's Permanent Representation at CEMA in Moscow. He has been first secretary of the Konin PZPR Voivodship Committee since October 1980, and was a delegate to the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress.

### Kielce First Secretary Lubczynski

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 15, 20 Jul 83 p 5

[Text] Maciej Lubczynski, Central Committee member and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Kielce, was born on 9 December 1939 in Parszów, Kielce voivodship. He began his professional employment in 1961 in the Bielsko-Biala Technical Equipment Plants. In 1963 he began work in Kielce in the Polmo SHL Specialized Automotive Factory as a vehicle designer. In 1970 he went to work at Holy Cross [Swietokrzyska] Technical University as a senior lecturer. From 1976 to 1977 Maciej Lubczynski was deputy director of the Working Vehicles and Machinery Institute, and from 1978 to 1979 was assistant dean of the Department of Mechanics at Holy Cross Technical University. In 1979 he was elected first secretary of the PZPR School Committee at Holy Cross Technical University, and on 17 December 1980 he was elected propaganda secretary of the voivodship committee. In June 1981 the Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference assigned him the function of first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Kielce.

### Przemysl First Secretary Czech

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 16, 3 Aug 83 p 3

[Text] Zenon Czech is 39 years old. His father was a worker at the Rzeszów Transportation Equipment Plant. Czech is a graduate of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, where he was active in the student movement, and then in the ZMS. He was deputy chairman of the ZMS Voivodship Board and chairman of the FSZMP [Federation of Socialist Polish Youth Unions] Voivodship Council in Rzeszów. He subsequently went to work in the party apparatus, holding a number of successive positions: Voivodship Committee instructor, Rzeszów City Committee secretary, and, beginning in 1975, Przemysl Voivodship Committee secretary. He has been Przemysl first secretary, and also vice chairman of the Przemysl Provincial People's Council, since 21 June 1981. He is a member of the basic party organization in the Construction Machinery Plant at the Stalowa Wola Steelworks in Lubaczów.

### Bielsko-Biala First Secretary Gdula

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 16, 3 Aug 83 p 4

[Text] Andrzej Gdula, first secretary of the Bielsko-Biala PZPR Voivodship Committee, was born on 27 June 1942 in Zywiec to a working family; he has a higher education in the field of administration. From 1964 to 1969 he worked as an agricultural mechanization instructor at the State Agricultural Machine Station [POM] in Okrajnik, after which he was elected secretary of the County Committee in Zywiec (1969-1975). Andrzej Gdula was appointed director of the Agriculture and Food Economy Department of the Bielsko-Biala PZPR Voivodship Committee, a position which he held from 1980 until 12 February 1981, when the Voivodship Committee elected him first secretary.



### Wloclawek First Secretary Luczak

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 17, 17 Aug 83 p 3

[Text] Krystian Luczak, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Wloclawek, was born on 20 November 1949; he has been a member of the PZPR since 1969. He began his professional employment in 1968 at the Inowroclaw Soda Plants. From 1971 to 1973 he was an instructor in the PZPR City Committee in Inowroclaw. From 1973 to 1975 he was chairman of the ZMS City Board, as well as of the City Council and County Council of the FSZMP, in Inowroclaw. From 1975 to 1976 he worked as secretary of the FSZMP Voivodship Council in Wloclawek. In 1976 he was elected first secretary of the PZPR City-Gmina Committee in Lubraniec, Wloclawek voivodship. In May 1981 the Voivodship Reports-Programs Conference appointed him first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Wloclawek.

### Biala Podlaska First Secretary Staszczak

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 17, 17 Aug 83 p 4

[Text] Czeslaw Staszczak, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Biala Podlaska, was born in 1942 to a peasant family; he is a graduate of Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin. While in secondary school he was active in the Rural Youth Union, and at the university in the Polish Students Association. From the ZSP District Council, he went to work in the party apparatus, fulfilling a succession of functions: Voivodship Committee instructor in Lublin, County Committee first secretary in Radzyn, Voivodship Committee secretary in Biala Podlaska. In June 1981, at the Voivodship Reports-Elections Conference, he was elected Biala Podlaska Voivodship Committee first secretary. Czeslaw Staszczak is a member of the Ideology Commission of the PZPR Central Committee.

130: 1600/1230

COMMEMORATIONS OF ANNIVERSARIES IN BUCHAREST, MOSCOW

Moscow Exhibit Marks Anniversary

AU220948 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Aug 83 p 5

[Report by AGERPRES correspondent Mihai Fabian]

[Text] The V. I. Lenin History Museum, the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Society (APSR), and the Museum of History of the Communist Party and of the Revolutionary and Democratic Movements of Romania sponsored an exhibition in Moscow to mark the 90th anniversary of the establishment of the Romanian Social-Democratic Workers Party [SDWP]--the first political party of the workers class in our country.

The exhibition features major events in the history of the Romanian workers' movement and stresses the historic importance of the establishment in 1893 of the first political party of the workers class. It also portrays the ties between Romanian socialists with the founders of scientific socialism.

The RCP--the bearer of the people's greatest revolutionary traditions and the achiever of the noblest ideals of the Romanian socialists--is given pride of place at the exhibition. Edifying documentaries present in particular the activities of the RCP since the ninth congress, when Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu assumed the leadership of our party and state, and the achievements attained by the Romanian people, led by their Communist Party, in all areas.

At the opening ceremony, A. G. Tsukanova, first deputy chairman of the APSR, and Ion Mielcioiu, minister counselor at the Romanian Embassy in Moscow, delivered speeches in which they stressed the significance of the first political party of the Romanian workers class and its objectives, and the glorious path of struggle and victories traveled by the RCP--the continuer of the SDWP's revolutionary traditions.

They also emphasized the historical stages covered by the Romanian people, led by the RCP, in building a new society and their achievements in building the comprehensively developed socialist society. At the same time, the speakers stressed the ascending course of Romanian-Soviet relations, the importance of the friendship and cooperation between Romania and the Soviet

Union, and the decisive contribution made by summit agreements to developing them.

The ceremony was attended by CPSU Central Committee activists, high-ranking functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of other central institutions, and a large public.

#### Romanian Ambassador on Moscow TV

LD231642 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Aug 83

[From the Vremya newscast; talk by Romanian Ambassador to USSR Traian Dudas on Romanian National Day--in Romanian with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, dear friends. [spoken in Russian] Today the people of Romania mark the 39th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation. The historic act of 23 August 1944, organized and led by the RCP, was carried out in favorable international conditions created by the great victories of the Soviet Army over Hitler's Germany, by the victories of the allies, and by the struggle of the peoples of different countries against fascism. This act led to the achievement of true independence for our homeland, to the revolutionary socialist transformation of Romania.

In the years of socialism Romania has become a country with a powerful industrial-agrarian economy. Now Romanian industry produces an output 50 times more than in the prewar period. The output of agriculture is 3.5 times greater and the national income has increased 15 times.

Our people mark their national day by working toward the achievement of goals set by the 12th congress and the national conference of the RCP. Our people are full of determination to implement unswervingly the program of building a thoroughly developed socialist society, and of moving forward toward communism.

Romania takes an active part in international life, developing broadly its relations with the socialist countries, with the developing countries and with the developed capitalist countries. We base our foreign relations constantly on the principles of full equality, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit and rejection of the use of force or threat of the use of force. Romania is firmly for peace and detente, for an end to the arms race and a transition to disarmament, for security and cooperation in Europe, for eliminating backwardness and the establishment of a new international economic order.

The RCP and the people of Romania attach particular importance to the continuous development of Romanian-Soviet friendly relations of cooperation. We are convinced that these relations will grow even stronger in accordance with the interests of our peoples, the cause of socialism, peace and progress in the world.

Let me wish you, dear comrades, great new successes in the implementation of the decisions made by the 26th congress, along the road of building socialism and communism, and in the struggle for peace and international security.

Thank you for your attention. [spoken in Russian]

#### Soviets Killed in Liberation War Honored

LD221817 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Aug 83

[Text] A TASS report from Bucharest says that a wreath-laying ceremony took place there today at the monument to Soviet soldiers killed in battle for the liberation of Romania. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], President of the Republic N. Ceausescu; the Central Committee of the RCP; the State Council and the government of the republic; and other state and public organizations. Members and candidate members of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and other state and party officials took part in the ceremony. Wreaths were also laid at monuments to Soviet soldiers in other towns and villages.

CSO: 2700/289

'DENIGRATORS' OF POST-1944 HISTORY CONDEMNED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 29 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by University Prof Dr Gh I. Ionita: "The Romanian Historiography Picture in the Face of the Inventions of Hired Denigrators"]

[Excerpts] In regard to the dialogue which we carry on with historians abroad, in a systematic manner, representatives of historical research activity in Romania--in direct correlation with our scientific and national interests--participate in congresses, conferences and other international meetings. We ourselves have organized wide-scale historical sciences, at which we received with hospitality all historians of the world who wanted to attend. It should be mentioned that the number of participants in this congress in Bucharest substantially exceeded the attendance at all the other 14 congresses organized prior to that one.

There have been numerous words of appreciation, from abroad, on the part of authorities on certain subjects, emphasizing the merits, successes, and contributions of Romanian historiography in the context of the discussions in this field in the international sphere.

Of course, observing the path of Romanian historiography during the past four decades, we cannot fail to note that, there have been a number of failures, as well as forced, circumstantial, subjective treatments of some phases and problems, phenomena which were easily observed in our historiography prior to the 1960's. It is absolutely necessary to note, in the same framework, deficiencies which sometimes existed in the training of research cadres, in their involvement in the investigation of the valuable documentary material which has always provided the Romanian historian with an opportunity for preparing works of certain value. If we do not consider these aspects or if we deny their existence we are ignoring the real means for the objective application of everything good and not so good in our historiography front of the past four decades.

As we know, the Romanian school of history has been and is confronted by the need to expose, more actively, the fabric of some theses, concepts and ideas found in works on history elaborated by schools and authors abroad situated on very different positions. It is known that, recently, unfortunately, history has constituted, in some countries, the terrain for the promotion



of falsifications, sometimes gross, taking advantage of the constantly increasing interest of the read in history. In the pages of our historical publications there have been, and there still are, published, in a systematic manner, materials which have responded and which respond to such obviously erroneous theses, which sometimes insult the history of our country and of our people. The same thing must be done in the future, whenever necessary, until we succeed in establishing total respect for our older and newer history on the part of all those who deal with this subject abroad.

In the following paragraphs, we will deal with a separate category of these denigrators--who have sometimes escaped the attention of our publications specializing in history. We are referring to those who, after having left the country under various circumstances, have come to the point where they are seeking a more comfortable life, by offering their services to the dens of anti-communist and anti-Romanian propaganda, as well as to "Radio Free Europe," in which they find, at the present time, a place and an incentive for uttering all sorts of attacks and slanders against Romania, her history and her historians. Those "warriors," abandoning the most elementary bonds with their homeland, take pleasure today--more and more obviously--in the position of hirelings of the dens of anti-communist propaganda and espionage. What else is "Radio Free Europe" and what else can its pitiful servants be besides hopeless denigrators?

Regardless of the names of all those who are currently responding to the orders of their mentor, Vlad Georgescu, who became, overnight, the program director of this pirate radio station (for merits which we know only too well) and no matter how regrettable their roots are and will continue to be, it is still very significant that they all have allowed themselves to be drawn into the morass of ill will, shamelessly consenting to throw mud at the efforts of those, here at home, who have exerted and are exerting great efforts to make history a weapon for the protection of the existence of the country, of its dignity, independence and sovereignty.

And not only here, at home, but also at international scientific meetings whose podium is offered to participants out of respect for specialized opinion, not for the use of this podium for anti-communist propaganda, for the proliferation of the assertions of various renegades. In this situation, it is easy to understand why Romanian historians are absent from some so-called international scientific meetings, about which Vlad Georgescu spoke (in his radio hodgepodge called "People, Facts, Happenings"), it seems, with regret because we are absent from some meetings which his errand boys attend. We would only be wasting money and time to participate in all sorts of dubious meetings which--with money from the dens of anti-communist propaganda--various Vlad Georgescus from the entire world attend.

In particular, we consider as absolutely reprehensible the attempt of the same nad hirelings to minimize or even deride--in their speeches of sad repute--Romanian historiographic reality of the past four centuries, attempting to cast doubts on historical research since 23 August 1944. We do not believe that we should spend any time discussing this subject as long as the points of view are expressed with consummate ill will by members of the "school of Romanian history in the emigre community," as Monica Lovinescu sometimes calls them flatteringly.

The wretched denigrators of whom we spoke above will not be able to find accessibility to the ranks of Romanian historians who, united, despise and stigmatize their clumsy errors. This is only natural considering the serious concerns and the remarkable results which Romanian historiography of the last four decades has registered and is registering in the most valuable possession of our national culture.

CSO: 2700/296

## SENTENCING LEVELS FOR POLITICAL INFRACTIONS EXAMINED

### Statistics, Analysis

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1700, 31 Jul 83  
pp 19-20

[Article by Branislav Kovacic: "High Penalties--The Exception"]

[Text] The public believes that political crime is a much more widespread phenomenon than is shown by the precise figures. The figures, of course, can never arouse as much curiosity as the "most alluring" political court trials.

"It is interesting that abroad this percentage of political crime, which is so low, is constantly exaggerated and 'proven' with some imaginary numbers about convictions and political prisoners," Milos Bakic, federal public prosecutor, recently declared--soon after a conference of republic and provincial public prosecutors in Novi Sad. "I think that all of those statistical machinations are used exclusively for hostile propaganda against the SFRY."

At the moment the supreme bodies of the Federation are analyzing and adopting a report on political crime.

A complete and true picture of a social phenomenon cannot be obtained from brief articles in the newspaper. The statistics show that the number of persons convicted of political crimes in Yugoslavia is negligible: only 0.4 percent of criminal convictions.

### What Is a Political Criminal

Neither in theory nor in practice is there a uniform definition of the political criminal. It might be said without making fine distinctions that political crime threatens the foundations of the sociopolitical system and the country's security. In our legal practice the following are regarded as political crimes: criminal acts against the foundations of the social system of socialist self-management and the security of the SFRY as set forth in Title XV of the SFRY Criminal Code and three acts--insult to the prestige of the SFRY, the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces, the spreading of false reports, and abuse of religion and the church for political purposes--prescribed by the criminal codes of the republics and provinces.

The so-called verbal political crimes make up all of 89 percent of political crime. The learned lawyers have divided these verbal political crimes into two groups. The more serious are hostile propaganda and arousing ethnic, racial and religious enmity and discord (Article 134, Paragraphs 1 and 3). The penalties are severe, from 1 to 10 years. The less serious forms of verbal political crimes are arousing ethnic, racial and religious intolerance by insulting individuals (Article 134, Paragraph 2; no less than 3 months and no more than 3 years of prison), insult to the prestige of the SFRY, a socialist republic or a socialist autonomous province, and the spreading of false reports and ridiculing the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia. Between 1973 and 1981 no one was convicted of abuse of religion and the church for political purposes.

The statistics never record the shades of difference between these crimes. But from the severity of the sentence one can infer the severity of the verbal political crime committed.

Two years ago a written petition circulated throughout Yugoslavia signed by a sizable number of intellectuals for amending Article 133 of the Criminal Code concerning "hostile propaganda."

Article 133, Paragraph 1, states:

"Whoever in a piece of writing, leaflet, drawing or in some other manner appeals for or encourages the overthrow of the rule of the working class and working people, unconstitutional change of the social system of socialist self-management, the shattering of brotherhood and unity and equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, the overthrow of organs of social self-management and the government, or of their executive bodies, or resistance to the decisions of the competent authorities of government and self-management which are of significance to protection and development of the relations of socialist self-management, the country's security or defense, or whoever maliciously and untruthfully portrays sociopolitical conditions in the country, shall be punished by no less than 1 and no more than 10 years in prison."

The signers of the petition felt that Article 133 contained two forms of the crime of hostile propaganda: the classic crime of treason (calling for forcible overthrow of the constitutional order) and the so-called crime of thought (malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country).

They demanded that only the so-called crime of thought be abolished. By and large this was substantiated on the following grounds: punishment of the crime of thought came about as a means of revolutionary terror; it jeopardizes the freedom of thought and discussion of public affairs guaranteed by the constitution, the courts are granted the right to decide on what is the truth about sociopolitical conditions in the country, the opportunity for the public to monitor and criticize the actions of those who run the government is essentially restricted (or abolished).

Dr Ljubo Bavcon, a leading Slovene expert in criminal law, recently had this to say on the matter in the Ljubljana weekly TELEKS:

"... The problem lies in the second part, which requires punishment for a person who with bad intentions or untruthfully portrays relations in the country. As a matter of fact, the way it is stated does not in itself result in abuse. If in such cases the court were to very carefully study the truthfulness or untruthfulness of what was said, there would be no problems. In our Slovenian specialized literature we have an extensive study on what statement is truthful, what is the truthfulness or untruthfulness of thoughts, views, conceptions, and doubts, in short, on the problematical nature of establishing the untruthfulness of an assertion. And then we also have the matter of malicious intent. What is that, how is one to ascertain it? In short, if the courts carefully investigated these crimes, there would be no cases of this article being used wrongly."

#### Statistics and Cycles

Svetislav Stevovic, chairman of the investigatory department of the Belgrade District Court:

"We should wait a bit before deleting that section. It is easy to delete. When it takes up the case of a political criminal, the court does its work very carefully and conscientiously. We in the district court have not made a single gaffe either in preliminary proceedings (investigation) or in trial and judgment."

So far even the statistics have not been seriously concerned with analyzing political crimes in our country. There are almost no significant sociological, psychological and political science studies of this phenomenon.

Srdjan Mrkic, a young associate of the Federal Bureau of Statistics, has written the first Yugoslav study, an analytical survey of the statistics on political crime from 1973 to 1981. He analyzed adult offenders of these crimes. The book is now in the hands of the publisher's readers and will be published soon.

We will be using Srdjan Mrkic's analyses.

The highest number of convictions for political crimes was in 1953--1,283--and the smallest in 1967--only 92 persons. Cyclical tendencies have been noted: between 1953 and 1967 there was a steady drop in the number of convictions; between 1970 and 1973 the number rose sharply, and then there was a quiet period with the number of convictions rising once again beginning in 1979.

Although this is not their legal obligation, individuals do report political crimes to the competent authorities. Whenever there is an increase in the number of allegations, this can be interpreted in at least two ways: an increase in the number of these crimes and increased activity and effectiveness on the part of law enforcement agencies. Law enforcement agencies file almost 60 percent of the allegations for political crimes. There is also a paradox:



In recent years--when the number of convictions for political crimes has increased--the number of allegations made by individuals has been cut in half.

Arousing Ethnic, Racial or  
Religious Enmity and Discord ...

<u>Year</u>	<u>Alleged</u>	<u>Indicted</u>	<u>Convicted</u>
1973	1,226	762	500
1974	881	476	452
1975	804	499	306
1976	661	378	372
1977	367	177	260*
1978	232	84	79
1979	200	91	62
1980	238	113	89
1981	179	142	107

Hostile Propaganda

<u>Year</u>	<u>Alleged</u>	<u>Indicted</u>	<u>Convicted</u>
1973	513	221	137
1974	306	115	92
1975	288	133	71
1976	257	128	132
1977	155	58	92*
1978	58	34	29
1979	78	37	35
1980	141	67	58
1981	151	74	66

Last year 516 persons were indicted for political crimes: courts in the first instance rendered verdicts in cases against 473 persons, 422 of these convictions.

\* Judgments for crimes committed in previous years.

The allegations made by individuals were mainly unfounded.

Individuals are not versed in the sound and documented description of a criminal act, although they do make allegations even out of base motives.

Public prosecutors use the finest screen for sifting criminal allegations, judging by this analysis. They decide whether an allegation appears well-founded or is an unjustified charge by a busybody.

In 1978 indictments were filed against only 36 percent of those against whom allegations had been made, and 3 years later they were filed against almost three-fourths of them. At that time more than half of the allegations were made against persons under age 29. The effectiveness of judicial authorities can be ascertained most easily by the time which passes between the filing of the allegation and the rendering of the decision on its justifiability. In most cases this is decided within a month. In the last 2 years which have been followed by statistical analysis there has been a considerable speedup in preliminary proceedings. There is an interesting pattern: the longer the proceedings last, the fewer the indictments that are filed.

Allegations for the two most common political crimes--arousing ethnic, racial or religious enmity, discord and intolerance, and hostile propaganda--are also the ones most subject to suspicion: there has been one indictment for every two allegations.

Of all the indictments 70 percent resulted in guilty verdicts. The statistical analysis suggests to us that in the last 2 years there has been a very rapid increase in the soundness of indictments. This means that the courts

are confirming the indictments more frequently. The court has usually thrown out indictments even at the time when the judgment is made. Court proceedings have also been shortened. It has been noted that when proceedings last longer than 1 year, the number of convictions also decreases.

The figures suggest to us that more severe penalties were pronounced for hostile propaganda than for arousing ethnic, racial or religious enmity, discord and intolerance. Three-fourths of all the sentences were for imprisonment less than 1 year. Only 1 percent of the offenders have been sentenced to more than 10 years in prison. A fifth of those convicted are recidivists.

The figures for 1981 on verbal political offenses prescribed by federal law are interesting (the maximum penalty is 3 months in prison): 990 were punished for ridiculing the sociopolitical system, and 3,072 persons were sentenced for offending or deprecating the socialist, patriotic, ethnic or moral sentiments of individuals.

Political Crime Rates Per 100,000 Inhabitants for 1973 and 1981 by SR's [Socialist Republic] and SAP's [Socialist Autonomous Province]

<u>Republic, Province</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>Republic, Province</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1981</u>
SFR Yugoslavia	4.83	1.26	SR Slovenia	1.12	0.21
SR Bosnia-Herzegovina	14.31	0.90	SR Serbia	1.50	0.92
SR Montenegro	2.34	1.77	SR Serbia proper	0.84	0.46
SR Croatia	7.37	2.76	SAP Kosovo	2.57	4.15
SR Macedonia	1.13	0.71	SAP Vojvodina	2.59	0.44

Crime Rate Per 100,000 Inhabitants Among Persons of the Same Nationality and Same Age, 1973-1981

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>Nationality</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1981</u>
Albanians	2.9	5.5	Muslims	10.1	0.4
Montenegrins	5.9	0.3	Slovenes	0.6	0.2
Croats	11.0	2.8	Serbs	3.3	0.8
Macedonians	1.1	0.1			

Who Is Dangerous to Society

In almost all countries the statistics also record the offender's occupation.

"Statistical analysis of those who commit crimes with respect to their occupation has the purpose in our system of crime detection and definition of preventive measures, not the labeling of certain occupations as activities dangerous to society."

That is the opinion of Srdjan Mrkic.

The largest number of convictions were of industrial and craft and trade workers (22 percent), private farmers (17 percent), specialists, artists and

workers without an occupation (13 percent) and secondary and university students (5 percent). The number of secondary and university students convicted of political crimes has increased in the last 2 years.

Half of the persons convicted committed a crime in their home town, one-fifth in their own opstina, while 14 percent of those convicted committed the crime in another opstina and only 8 percent of the offenders committed the crime in another republic.

The schooling of political offenders: 60 percent of them have elementary education, 16 percent are skilled and highly skilled workers, and only one-tenth have a university degree.

Women represent only one-tenth of the persons indicted and convicted of political crimes.

Dr Vuko Coce Gucetic, who was federal prosecutor before Bakic, insisted in an interview on the difference between the so-called enemy and persons who have been exposed to lengthy nationalistic indoctrination: "When it is a case of indoctrination of young people, they can be saved, and we must help them to be saved at all costs."

The fundamental rule--this is shown by historical experience--is that the more brutal a system is, the weaker and less secure it is. And the statistics say that Yugoslav penal policy has been moderate: high penalties are more an exception than the rule. Only two death penalties--one in 1977 and one in 1983--have been pronounced for the most serious forms of political crime.

#### Amendment to Law Advocated

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1701, 7 Aug 83 p 6

[Letter to the editor by Vladimir Seks, Osijek lawyer, in response to the article entitled "Political Crimes: High Penalties--The Exception," published in NIN, No 1698: "Delicate Delect"]

[Text] The author correctly notes that Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code does make a crime of the delect of thought in the definition "whosoever maliciously and untruthfully portrays sociopolitical conditions in the country," as well as what is problematical in the opinion of Dr Ljubo Bavcon, Slovenian legal theorist. In court practice, especially in courts of the first instance, but also the appeal courts, interpretations have differed in application of this legal institution, which creates legal uncertainty (but that is corrected by the Federal Court of Yugoslavia when a convicted person uses the extraordinary legal remedy he is entitled to if he receives an unsuspended prison sentence longer than 6 months (Dr Mirko Perovic, professor and until recently president of the Federal Court of Yugoslavia, also wrote with inspiration and strong arguments in NIN and the professional legal literature at one time about the problematical nature of punishing the "crime of thought" and the need to amend this legal institution and define it more precisely).

It is my opinion that this incrimination of "malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country" as formulated in Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code (high treason) is not in conformity with the SFRY Constitution. That is, the SFRY Constitution sets forth in Title II, Articles 88-152, the FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIOPOLITICAL SYSTEM (which in fact is the title given to this section in the constitution). Those foundations consist of: a) the provision that the working class and working people are the holder of power and the principal in management of social affairs, b) self-management, c) public ownership of the means of production, d) political and legal organization of the country defined within the constitutional framework. Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code, which incorporates the crime of thought, is to be found in the group of crimes AGAINST THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIAL SYSTEM AND SECURITY OF THE SFRY.

When, then, the legislator has included this crime among the crimes against the foundations of the socialist social system and security of the SFRY, the conclusion is then logically imposed that "the sociopolitical conditions in the country" do not comprise part of the foundations of the socialist social system in the SFRY.

I therefore think that it would not be possible in theory for anyone to find himself in the position of answering for a "crime of thought" as a form of the crime of high treason under Article 133, Paragraph 1, of the SFRY Criminal Code, regardless of the extent to which he has maliciously and untruthfully portrayed sociopolitical conditions in the country. He might find himself in a position of being criminally responsible only IF THOSE CONDITIONS PERTAIN TO THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIAL SYSTEM (as defined by Articles 88-152 of the SFRY Constitution).

Unfortunately, in court practice indictments and judgments do occur and do become final (unless the case goes to the Federal Court of Yugoslavia) even for "malicious and untruthful reporting" of all events in domestic politics, international relations, the economic situation, cultural events and other forms of sociopolitical life, even those "conditions," then, which do not pertain to the FOUNDATIONS OF THE SOCIOPOLITICAL SYSTEM.

It is interesting to mention that this unfortunate phrase "malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country" occurs for the first time in the new Yugoslavia only in connection with the 1959 amendment of the Criminal Code, and did not exist in the Law on Criminal Acts Against the People and State, which was adopted in 1945 (propaganda was punishable if it contained an appeal for FORCIBLE overthrow of the existing social system), nor was it in the first Criminal Code, which took effect 1 July 1951. I therefore think that the next time the legislation is amended, it ought to be omitted from substantive law.

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